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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REIGN
OF THE
EMPEROR CHARLES V.

By WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D. D.

PRINCIPAL of the University of EDINBURGH, and HISTO-
RIOGRAPHER to his MAJESTY for SCOTLAND.

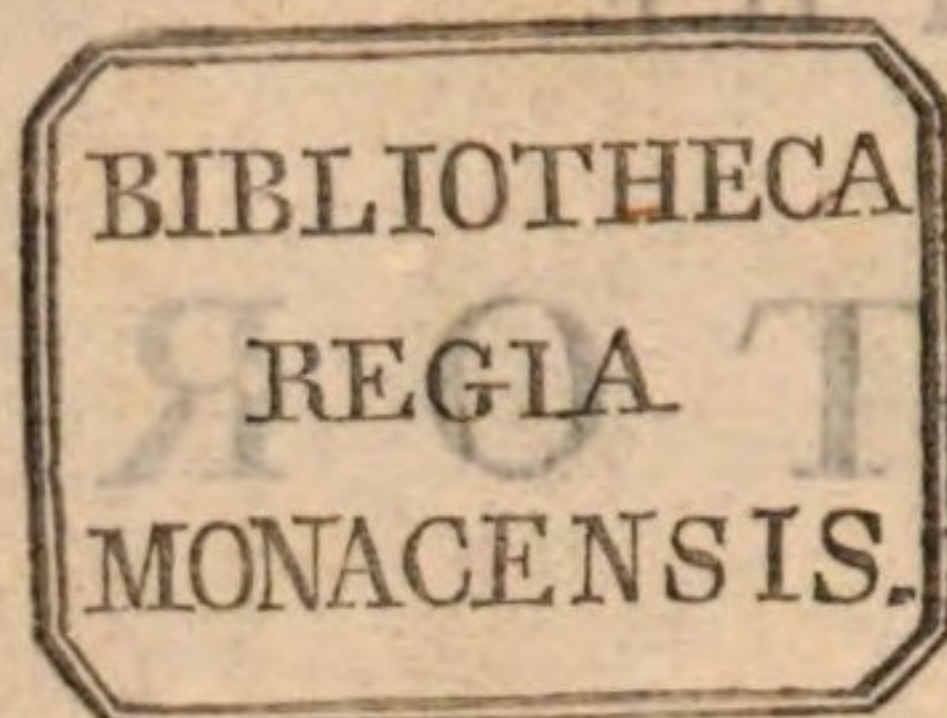
A NEW EDITION.

VOL. II.

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M DCC LXXXVIII



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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
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OF THE
EMPEROR CHARLES V.
BOOK I.

CHARLES V. was born at Ghent on the Book I.
twenty - fourth day of February, in the Birth of
year one thousand five hundred. His father, Charles V.
Philip the Handsome, Archduke of Austria,
was the son of the Emperor Maximilian, and
of Mary, the only child of Charles the Bold,
the last prince of the house of Burgundy. His
mother, Joanna, was the second daughter of
Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of
Castile and Aragon.

A LONG train of fortunate events had opened His domi-
nions, and
the events
the way for this young prince to the inheritance

BOOK I.
by which
he acquired
them.

of more extensive dominions, than any European monarch, since Charlemagne, had possessed. Each of his ancestors had acquired kingdoms or provinces, towards which their prospect of succession was extremely remote. The rich possessions of Mary of Burgundy were destined for another family, she having been contracted by her father to the only son of Louis XI. of France; but that capricious monarch, indulging his hatred to her family, chose rather to strip her of part of her territories by force, than to secure the whole by marriage; and by this misconduct, fatal to his posterity, threw all the Netherlands and Franche Comté into the hands of a rival. Isabella, the daughter of John II. of Castile, far from having any prospect of that noble inheritance which she transmitted to her grandson, passed the early part of her life in obscurity and indigence. But the Castilians, exasperated against her brother Henry IV. an ill-advised and vicious Prince, publicly charged him with impotence, and his Queen with adultery. Upon his demise, rejecting Joanna, whom the King had uniformly, and even on his death-bed, owned to be his lawful daughter, and whom an assembly of the states had acknowledged to be the heir of his kingdom, they obliged her to retire into Portugal, and placed Isabella on the throne of Castile. Ferdinand owed the crown of Aragon to the unexpected

death of his elder brother, and acquired the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily by violating the faith of treaties, and disregarding the ties of blood. To all these kingdoms, Christopher Columbus, by an effort of genius and of intrepidity, the boldest and most successful that is recorded in the annals of mankind, added a new world, the wealth of which was one considerable source of the power and grandeur of the Spanish monarchs.

DON JOHN, the only son of Ferdinand and Isabella, and their eldest daughter, the Queen of Portugal, being cut off in the flower of youth, all their hopes centered in Joanna and her posterity. But as her husband, the Archduke, was a stranger to the Spaniards, it was thought expedient to invite him into Spain, that by residing among them, he might accustom himself to their laws and manners; and it was expected that the Cortes, or assembly of states, whose authority was then so great in Spain, that no title to the crown was reckoned valid unless it received their sanction, would acknowledge his right of succession, together with that of the Infanta, his wife. Philip and Joanna, passing through France in their way to Spain, were entertained in that kingdom with the utmost magnificence. The Archduke did homage to Louis XII. for the earldom of Flanders, and

BOOK I.
Ferdinand
to assist
Philip's
power
Philip and
Joanna, his
father and
mother, visit
Spain.

1502.

BOOK I. took his seat as a peer of the realm in the parliament of Paris. They were received in Spain with every mark of honour that the parental affection of Ferdinand and Isabella, or the respect of their subjects, could devise; and their title to the crown was soon after acknowledged by the Cortes of both kingdoms.

Ferdinand
jealous of
Philip's
power.

BUT amidst these outward appearances of satisfaction and joy, some secret uneasiness preyed upon the mind of each of these princes. The stately and reserved ceremonial of the Spanish court, was so burdensome to Philip, a prince young, gay, affable, fond of society and of pleasure, that he soon began to express a desire of returning to his native country, the manners of which were more suited to his temper. Ferdinand, observing the declining health of his Queen, with whose life his right to the government of Castile must cease, easily foresaw, that a prince of Philip's disposition, and who already discovered an extreme impatience to reign, would never consent to his retaining any degree of authority in that kingdom; and the prospect of this diminution of his power, awakened the jealousy of that ambitious monarch.

Isabella's
solicitude,
with respect
to him and
her daughter.

ISABELLA beheld, with the sentiments natural to a mother, the indifference and neglect with which the Archduke treated her daughter, who

was destitute of those beauties of person, as well as those accomplishments of mind, which fix the affections of an husband. Her understanding, always weak, was often disordered. She doated on Philip with such an excess of childish and indiscreet fondness, as excited disgust rather than affection. Her jealousy, for which her husband's behaviour gave her too much cause, was proportioned to her love, and often broke out in the most extravagant actions. Isabella, though sensible of her defects, could not help pitying her condition, which was soon rendered altogether deplorable, by the Archduke's abrupt resolution of setting out in the middle of winter for Flanders, and of leaving her in Spain. Isabella intreated him not to abandon his wife to grief and melancholy, which might prove fatal to her, as she was near the time of her delivery. Joanna conjured him to put off his journey for three days only, that she might have the pleasure of celebrating the festival of Christmas in his company. Ferdinand, after representing the imprudence of his leaving Spain, before he had time to become acquainted with the genius, or to gain the affections of the people, who were one day to be his subjects, besought him, at least, not to pass through France, with which kingdom he was then at open war. Philip, without regarding either the dictates of humanity, or the maxims of prudence, persisted

BOOK I. in his purpose, and on the twenty-second of December set out for the Low Countries, by the way of France¹.

Disorder of
Joanna's
mind.
Birth of
Ferdinand,
afterwards
Emperor.

1504.

FROM the moment of his departure, Joanna sunk into a deep and sullen melancholy², and while she was in that situation bore Ferdinand her second son, for whom the power of his brother Charles afterwards procured the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, and to whom he at last transmitted the Imperial sceptre. Joanna was the only person in Spain who discovered no joy at the birth of this prince. Insensible to that, as well as to every other pleasure, she was wholly occupied with the thoughts of returning to her husband; nor did she, in any degree, recover tranquillity of mind, until she arrived at Brussels next year³.

PHILIP, in passing through France, had an interview with Louis XII. and signed a treaty with him, by which he hoped that all the differences between France and Spain would have been finally terminated. But Ferdinand, whose affairs, at that time, were extremely prosperous in Italy, where the superior genius of Gonfalso

¹ Petri Martyris Anglerii Epistolæ, 250. 253.

² Id. Epist. 255.

³ Mariana, lib. 27. c. 11. 14. Flechier Vie de Ximen. r. 191.

de Cordova, the great captain, triumphed on every occasion over the arms of France, did not pay the least regard to what his son-in-law had concluded, and carried on hostilities with greater ardour than ever. Book I.

FROM this time Philip seems not to have taken any part in the affairs of Spain, waiting in quiet till the death either of Ferdinand or of Isabella should open the way to one of their thrones. The latter of these events was not far distant. The untimely death of her children had made a deep impression on the mind of Isabella, and as she could derive but little consolation for the losses which she had sustained either from her daughter Joanna, whose infirmities daily increased, or from her son-in-law, who no longer preserved even the appearance of a decent respect towards that unhappy princess, her spirits and health began gradually to decline, and after languishing some months, she died at Medina del Campo on the twenty-sixth of November, one thousand five hundred and four. She was no less eminent for virtue, than for wisdom; and whether we consider her behaviour as a Queen, as a wife, or as a mother, she is justly entitled to the high encomiums bestowed on her by the Spanish historians *. Death of Isabella.

* P. Mart. Ep. 279.

BOOK I.
Her will,
appointing
Ferdinand
regent of
Castile.

A FEW weeks before her death, she made her last will, and being sensible of Joanna's incapacity to assume the reins of government into her own hands, and having no inclination to commit them to Philip, with whose conduct she was extremely dissatisfied, she appointed Ferdinand regent or administrator of the affairs of Castile, until her grandson Charles should attain the age of twenty. She bequeathed to Ferdinand likewise one half of the revenues which should arise from the Indies, together with the grand-masterships of the three military orders; dignities, which rendered the person who possessed them almost independent, and which Isabella had, for that reason, annexed to the crown⁵. But, before she signed a deed so favourable to Ferdinand, she obliged him to swear that he would not, by a second marriage, or by any other means, endeavour to deprive Joanna or her posterity of their right of succession to any of his kingdoms⁶.

IMMEDIATELY upon the Queen's death, Ferdinand resigned the title of King of Castile, and commanded Joanna and Philip to be publicly proclaimed the sovereigns of that kingdom. But, at the same time, he assumed the character

⁵ P. Martyr. Ep. 277. Mar. Hist. lib. 28. c. 11. Ferreras Hist. Génér. d'Espagne, tom. viii. 263.

⁶ Mar. Hist. lib. 28. c. 14.

of Regent, in consequence of Isabella's testa- BOOK I.
 ment, and not long after, he prevailed on the Ferdinand
 Cortes of Castile to acknowledge his right to acknow-
 that office. This, however, he did not procure ledged as re-
 without difficulty, nor without discovering such gent by the
 symptoms of alienation and disgust among the Cortes.
 Castilians as filled him with great uneasiness. 1505
 The union of Castile and Aragon, for almost The Casti-
 thirty years, had not so entirely extirpated the lians dis-
 ancient and hereditary enmity which subsisted satisfied.
 between the natives of these kingdoms, that the
 Castilian pride could submit, without murmur-
 ing, to the government of a king of Aragon.
 Ferdinand's own character, with which the
 Castilians were well acquainted, was far from
 rendering his authority desirable. Suspicious,
 discerning, severe, and parsimonious, he was
 accustomed to observe the most minute actions
 of his subjects with a jealous attention, and to
 reward their highest services with little libe-
 rality; and they were now deprived of Isabella,
 whose gentle qualities, and partiality to her
 Castilian subjects, often tempered his austerity,
 or rendered it tolerable. The maxims of his
 government were especially odious to the Gran-
 dees; for that artful Prince, sensible of the dan-
 gerous privileges conferred upon them by the
 feudal institutions, had endeavoured to curb
 their exorbitant power⁷, by extending the royal

⁷ Marian. lib. 28. c. 12.

BOOK I. jurisdiction, by protecting their injured vassals, by increasing the immunities of cities, and by other measures equally prudent. From all these causes, a formidable party among the Castilians united against Ferdinand, and though the persons who composed it, had not hitherto taken any publick step in opposition to him, he plainly saw that upon the least encouragement from their new King they would proceed to the most violent extremities.

Philip endeavours to obtain the government of Castile.

THERE was no less agitation in the Netherlands upon receiving the accounts of Isabella's death, and of Ferdinand's having assumed the government of Castile. Philip was not of a temper tamely to suffer himself to be supplanted by the unnatural ambition of his father-in-law. If Joanna's infirmities, and the non-age of Charles rendered them incapable of government, he, as a husband, was the proper guardian of his wife, and as a father, the natural tutor of his son. Nor was it sufficient to oppose to these just rights, and to the inclination of the people of Castile, the authority of a testament, the genuineness of which was perhaps doubtful, and its contents certainly iniquitous. A keener edge was added to Philip's resentment, and new vigour infused into his councils by the arrival of Don John Manuel. He was Ferdinand's ambassador at the Imperial court, but upon the

first notice of Isabella's death repaired to Brus- Book I.
sels, flattering himself, that under a young
and liberal prince, he might attain to power
and honours, which he could never hope for
in the service of an old and frugal master. He
had early paid court to Philip during his resi-
dence in Spain, with such assiduity as entirely
gained his confidence; and having been trained
to business under Ferdinand, could oppose his
schemes with equal abilities, and with arts not
inferior to those for which that monarch was
distinguished*.

By his advice, ambassadors were dispatched He requires
to require Ferdinand to retire into Aragon, and Ferdinand
to resign the government of Castile to those per- to resign the
sons whom Philip should entrust with it until regency.
his arrival in that kingdom. Such of the Casti-
lian nobles as had discovered any dissatisfaction
with Ferdinand's administration, were encou-
raged by every method to oppose it. At the
same time a treaty was concluded with Louis
XII. by which Philip flattered himself, that he
had secured the friendship and assistance of that
monarch.

MEANWHILE, Ferdinand employed all the
arts of address and policy, in order to retain

* Zurita Annales de Aragon, tom. vi. p. 12.

BOOK I. the power of which he had got possession. By means of Conchillos, an Aragonian gentleman, he entered into a private negociation with Joanna, and prevailed on that weak princess to confirm, by her authority, his right to the regency. But this intrigue did not escape the penetrating eye of Don John Manuel; Joanna's letter of consent was intercepted; Conchillos was thrown into a dungeon; she herself confined to an apartment in the palace, and all her Spanish domesticks secluded from her presence⁹.

Ferdinand
abandoned
by the Casti-
lian nobles.

THE mortification which the discovery of this scheme occasioned to Ferdinand, was much increased by his observing the progress that Philip's emissaries made in Castile. Some of the nobles retired to their castles; others to the towns in which they had influence: they formed themselves into confederacies, and began to assemble their vassals. Ferdinand's court was almost totally deserted; not a person of distinction but Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, the duke of Alva, and the marquis of Denia, remaining there; while the houses of Philip's ambassadors were daily crowded with those of the highest rank.

⁹ P. Mart. Ep. 287. Zurita Annales, vi. p. 14.

EXASPERATED at this universal defection, and BOOK I.
 mortified perhaps with seeing all his schemes de- Ferdinand
 feated by a younger politician, Ferdinand re- resolves to
 solved, in defiance of the law of nature, and of marry, in
 decency, to deprive his daughter and her poste- order to ex-
 rity of the crown of Castile, rather than renounce clude his
 the regency of that kingdom. His plan for ac- daughter
 complishing this was no less bold, than the throne.
 intention itself was wicked. He demanded in
 marriage Joanna, the supposed daughter of
 Henry IV. on the belief of whose illegitimacy,
 Isabella's right to the crown of Castile was
 founded; and by reviving the claim of this
 princess, in opposition to which he himself had
 formerly led armies, and fought battles, he
 hoped once more to get possession of the throne
 of that kingdom. But Emanuel, King of Por-
 tugal, in whose dominions Joanna resided, being
 married to one of Ferdinand's daughters by
 Isabella, refused his consent to that unnatural
 match; and the unhappy princess herself, hav-
 ing lost all relish for the objects of ambition,
 by being long immured in a convent, discovered
 no less aversion to it ¹⁰.

THE resources, however, of Ferdinand's am- Marries a
 bition, were not exhausted. Upon meeting with niece of the
 French
 king.

¹⁰ Sandov. Hist. of Civil Wars in Castile. Lond. 1655.
 p. 5. Zurita Annales de Aragon, tom. vi. p. 213.

BOOK I. a repulse in Portugal, he turned towards France, and fought in marriage Germaine de Foix, a daughter of the viscount of Narbonne, and of Mary, the sister of Louis XII. The war which that monarch had carried on against Ferdinand in Naples, had been so unfortunate, that he listened with joy to a proposal, which furnished him with an honourable pretence of concluding peace: And though no prince was ever more remarkable than Ferdinand for making all his passions bend to the maxims of interest, or become subservient to the purposes of ambition, yet so vehement was his resentment against his son-in-law, that the desire of gratifying it rendered him regardless of every other consideration. In order to be revenged of Philip, by detaching Louis from his interest, and in order to gain a chance of excluding him from his hereditary throne of Aragon, and the dominions annexed to it, he was ready once more to divide Spain into separate kingdoms, though the union of these was the great glory of his reign, and had been the chief object of his ambition; he consented to restore the Neapolitan nobles of the French faction to their possessions and honours; and submitted to the ridicule of marrying, in an advanced age, a Princess of eighteen¹¹.

¹¹ P. Mart. Ep. 290. 292. Mariana, lib. 28. c. 16. 17.

THE conclusion of this match, which deprived Philip of his only ally, and threatened him with the loss of so many kingdoms, gave a dreadful alarm to him, and convinced Don John Manuel that there was now a necessity of taking other measures with regard to the affairs of Spain¹². He accordingly instructed the Flemish ambassadors in the court of Spain, to testify the strong desire which their master had of terminating all differences between him and Ferdinand in an amicable manner, and his willingness to consent to any conditions that would re-establish the friendship which ought to subsist between a father and a son-in-law. Ferdinand, though he had made and broken more treaties than any prince of any age, was apt to confide so far in the sincerity of other men, or to depend so much upon his own address and their weakness, as to be always extremely fond of a negotiation. He listened with eagerness to these declarations, and soon concluded a treaty at Salamanca; in which it was stipulated, that the government of Castile should be carried on in the joint names of Joanna, of Ferdinand, and of Philip; and that the revenues of the crown, as well as the right of conferring offices, should be shared between Ferdinand and Philip by an equal division¹³.

A treaty between Ferdinand and Philip.

Nov. 24.

¹² P. Mart Ep. 293.

¹³ Zurita Annales de Aragon, vi. 19. P. Mart. Ep. 293, 294.

BOOK I. **NOTHING**, however, was farther from Philip's thoughts than to observe this treaty. His sole intention in proposing it was to amuse Ferdinand, and to prevent him from taking any measures for obstructing his voyage into Spain. It had that effect. Ferdinand, sagacious as he was, did not for some time suspect his design; and though when he perceived it, he prevailed on the King of France not only to remonstrate against the Archduke's journey, but to threaten hostilities if he should undertake it; though he solicited the duke of Gueldres to attack his son-in-law's dominions in the Low Countries, Philip and his consort nevertheless set sail with a numerous fleet, and a good body of land-forces. They were obliged by a violent tempest to take shelter in England, where Henry VII. in compliance with Ferdinand's solicitations, detained them upwards of three months¹⁴; at last they were permitted to depart, and after a more prosperous voyage, they arrived in safety at Corunna in Galicia, nor durst Ferdinand attempt, as he had once intended, to oppose their landing by force of arms.

1506.
Philip and
Joanna set
sail for
Spain.

April 28.

The nobi-
lity of Cas-
tile declare
for Philip.

THE Castilian nobles, who had been obliged hitherto to conceal or to dissemble their sentiments, now declared openly in favour of Philip.

¹⁴ Ferrer. Hist. viii. 285.

From

From every corner of the kingdom, persons of the highest rank, with numerous retinues of their vassals, repaired to their new King. The treaty of Salamanca was universally condemned, and all agreed to exclude from the government of Castile a prince, who, by consenting to disjoin Aragon and Naples from that crown, discovered so little concern for its true interests. Ferdinand, meanwhile, abandoned by almost all the Castilians, disconcerted by their revolt, and uncertain whether he should peaceably relinquish his power, or take arms in order to maintain it, earnestly solicited an interview with his son-in-law, who by advice of Manuel studiously avoided it. Convinced at last, by seeing the number, and zeal of Philip's adherents daily increase, that it was vain to think of resisting such a torrent, Ferdinand consented, by treaty, to resign the regency of Castile into the hands of Philip, to retire into his hereditary dominions of Aragon, and to rest satisfied with the masterships of the military orders, and that share of the revenue of the Indies, which Isabella had bequeathed to him. Though an interview between the princes was no longer necessary, it was agreed to on both sides from motives of decency. Philip repaired to the place appointed with a splendid retinue of the Castilian nobles, and a considerable body of armed men. Ferdinand appeared

June 27.
Ferdinand
resigns the
regency of
Castile, and
retires to
Aragon.

BOOK I. without any pomp, attended by a few followers, mounted on mules, and unarmed. On that occasion Don John Manuel had the pleasure of displaying before the monarch whom he had deserted the extensive influence which he had acquired over his new master: While Ferdinand suffered in presence of his former subjects the two most cruel mortifications which an artful and ambitious prince can feel; being at once overreached in conduct, and stripped of power¹⁵.

July.

NOT long after, he retired into Aragon; and hoping that some favourable accident would soon open the way for his return into Castile, he took care to protest, though with great secrecy, that the treaty concluded with his son-in-law, being extorted by force, ought to be deemed void of all obligation¹⁶.

Philip and Joanna acknowledged as king and queen by the Cortes.

PHILIP took possession of his new authority with a youthful joy. The unhappy Joanna, from whom he derived it, remained during all these contests, under the dominion of a deep melancholy; she was seldom allowed to appear in publick; her father, though he had often desired it, was refused access to her; and Philip's

¹⁵ Zurita Annales de Arag. vi. 64. Mar. lib. 28. c. 19, 20. P. Mart. Ep. 304, 305. &c. ¹⁶ Zurita Annales de Arag. vi. p. 68. Ferrer. Hist. viii. 290.

chief object was to prevail on the Cortes to BOOK I.
 declare her incapable of government, that an undivided power might be lodged in his hands, until his son should attain to full age. But such was the partial attachment of the Castilians to their native Princess, that though Manuel had the address to gain some members of the Cortes assembled at Valladolid, and others were willing to gratify their new sovereign in his first request, the great body of the representatives refused their consent to a declaration which they thought so injurious to the blood of their monarchs¹⁷. They were unanimous, however, in acknowledging Joanna and Philip, Queen and King of Castile, and their son Charles Prince of Asturias.

THIS was almost the only memorable event Death of Philip.
 during Philip's administration. A fever put Sept. 25.
 an end to his life in the twenty-eighth year of his age, when he had not enjoyed the regal dignity, which he had been so eager to obtain, full three months¹⁸.

THE whole royal authority in Castile ought The disorder of Joanna's mind increases.
 of course to have devolved upon Joanna. But
 the shock occasioned by a disaster so unexpected as the death of her husband, completed the dis-

¹⁷ Zurita Annales de Arag. vi. p. 75.

¹⁸ Marian. lib. 28. c. 23.

BOOK I. order of her understanding, and her incapacity for government. During all the time of Philip's sickness, no intreaty could prevail on her, though in the sixth month of her pregnancy, to leave him for a moment. When he expired, however, she did not shed one tear, or utter a single groan. Her grief was silent and settled. She continued to watch the dead body with the same tenderness and attention as if it had been alive¹⁹, and though at last she permitted it to be buried, she soon removed it from the tomb to her own apartment. There it was laid upon a bed of state, in a splendid dress: and having heard from some monk a legendary tale of a king who revived after he had been dead fourteen years, she kept her eyes almost constantly fixed on the body, waiting for the happy moment of its return to life. Nor was this capricious affection for her dead husband less tinged with jealousy, than that which she had born to him while alive. She did not permit any of her female attendants to approach the bed on which his corpse was laid; she would not suffer any woman who did not belong to her family to enter the apartment; and rather than grant that privilege to a midwife, though a very aged one had been chosen of purpose, she bore the

¹⁹ P. Mart. Ep. 316.

Princess Catherine without any other assistance BOOK I.
than that of her own domestics²⁰.

A WOMAN in such a state of mind was little capable of governing a great kingdom; and Joanna, who made it her sole employment to bewail the loss, and to pray for the soul of her husband, would have thought her attention to publick affairs an impious neglect of those duties which she owed to him. But, though she declined assuming the administration herself, yet, by a strange caprice of jealousy, she refused to commit it to any other person; and no intreaty of her subjects could persuade her to name a regent, or even to sign such papers as were necessary for the execution of justice, and the security of the kingdom.

THE death of Philip threw the Castilians into the greatest perplexity. It was necessary to appoint a regent, both on account of Joanna's frenzy, and the infancy of her son; and as there was not among the nobles, any person so eminently distinguished as to be called by the publick voice to that high office, all naturally turned their eyes either towards Ferdinand, or towards the Emperor Maximilian. The former

²⁰ Mar. Hist. lib. 29. c. 3 & 5. P. Mart. Ep. 318. 324. 328. 332.

BOOK I. claimed that dignity as administrator for his daughter, and by virtue of the testament of Isabella; the latter thought himself the legal guardian of his grandson, whom, on account of his mother's infirmity, he already considered as King of Castile. Such of the nobility as had lately been most active in compelling Ferdinand to resign the government of the kingdom, trembled at the thoughts of his being restored so soon to his former dignity. They dreaded the return of a monarch, not apt to forgive, and who, to those defects with which they were already acquainted, added that resentment which the remembrance of their behaviour, and reflection upon his own disgrace, must naturally have excited. Though none of these objections held against Maximilian, he was a stranger to the laws and manners of Castile; he had not either troops or money to support his pretensions; nor could his claim be admitted without a public declaration of Joanna's incapacity for government, an indignity, to which, notwithstanding the notoriety of her distemper, the delicacy of the Castilians could not bear the thoughts of subjecting her.

DON JOHN MANUEL, however, and a few of the nobles, who considered themselves as most obnoxious to Ferdinand's displeasure, declared for Maximilian, and offered to support his claim

with all their interest. Maximilian, always enterprising and decisive in council, though feeble and dilatory in execution, eagerly embraced the offer. But a series of ineffectual negotiations was the only consequence of this transaction. The Emperor, as usual, asserted his rights in a high strain, promised a great deal, and performed nothing²¹.

A FEW days before the death of Philip, Ferdinand had set out for Naples, that, by his own presence, he might put an end, with the greater decency, to the vice-royalty of the great captain, whose important services, and cautious conduct, did not screen him from the suspicions of his jealous master. Though an account of his son-in-law's death reached him at Porto-fino, in the territories of Genoa, he was so solicitous to discover the secret intrigues which he supposed the great captain to have been carrying on, and to establish his own authority on a firm foundation in the Neapolitan dominions, by removing him from the supreme command there, that rather than discontinue his voyage, he chose to leave Castile in a state of anarchy, and even to risque, by this delay, his obtaining possession of the government of that kingdom²².

²¹ Mariana, lib. 29. c. 7. Zurita Annales de Arag. VI. 93.

²² Zurita Annales de Arag. vi. p. 85.

BOOK I.

Acquires
the regency
of Castile,
chiefly
through the
influence of
cardinal
Ximenes.

1507.

Aug. 21.
Ferdinand
returns to
Spain.

NOTHING but the great abilities and prudent conduct of his adherents, could have prevented the bad effects of this absence. At the head of these was Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, who, though he had been raised to that dignity by Isabella, contrary to the inclination of Ferdinand, and though he could have no expectation of enjoying much power under his jealous administration, was nevertheless so disinterested, as to prefer the welfare of his country before his own grandeur, and to declare, that Castile could never be so happily governed as by a prince, whom long experience had rendered thoroughly acquainted with its true interest. His zeal to bring over his countrymen to this opinion, induced him to lay aside somewhat of his usual austerity and haughtiness. He condescended, on this occasion, to court the disaffected nobles, and employed address, as well as arguments, to persuade them. Ferdinand seconded his endeavours with great art; and by concessions to some of the grandees, by promises to others, and by letters full of complaisance to all, he gained many of his most violent opponents²³. Though many cabals were formed, and some commotions were excited, yet when Ferdinand, after having settled the affairs of Naples, arrived in Castile, he entered upon the administration with-

²³ Zurita Annales de Arag. vi. p. 87. 94. 109.

out opposition. The prudence with which he exercised his authority in that kingdom, equalled the good fortune by which he had recovered it. By a moderate, but steady administration, free from partiality and from resentment, he entirely reconciled the Castilians to his person, and secured to them, during the remainder of his life, as much domestick tranquillity, as was consistent with the genius of the feudal government, which still subsisted among them in full vigour²⁴.

Book I.

His prudent administration.

NOR was the preservation of tranquillity in his hereditary kingdoms, the only obligation which the Archduke Charles owed to the wise regency of his grandfather; he had the satisfaction, during that period, of seeing very important acquisitions added to the dominions over which he was to reign. On the coast of Barbary, Oran, and other conquests of no small value, were annexed to the crown of Castile by cardinal Ximenes, who, with a spirit very uncommon in a monk, led in person a numerous army against the Moors of that country; and, with a generosity and magnificence still more singular, defrayed the whole expence of the expedition out of his own revenues²⁵. In Europe, Ferdinand, under pretences no less perilous than

Conquest of Oran.

1509.

²⁴ Mariana, lib. 29. c. 10. ²⁵ Mariana, lib. 29. c. 18.

BOOK I. unjust, as well as by artifices the most shameful and treacherous, expelled John d'Albert, the lawful sovereign, from the throne of Navarre; and seizing on that kingdom, extended the limits of the Spanish monarchy from the Pyrenees on the one hand, to the frontiers of Portugal on the other ²⁶.

Ferdinand
jealous of
his grand-
son Charles.

1509.

IT was not, however, the desire of aggrandizing the Archduke, which influenced Ferdinand in this, or in any other of his actions. He was more apt to consider that young prince as a rival, who might one day wrest out of his hands the government of Castile, than as a grandson, for whose behoof he was entrusted with the administration. This jealousy soon begot aversion, and even hatred, the symptoms of which he was at no pains to conceal. Hence proceeded his immoderate joy when his young Queen was delivered of a son, whose life would have deprived Charles of the crowns of Aragon, Naples, Sicily and Sardinia; and upon the untimely death of that prince, he discovered, for the same reason, an excessive solicitude to have other children. This impatience hastened, in all probability, the accession of Charles to the crown of Spain. Ferdinand, in order to procure a blessing, of which, from his advanced

²⁶ Mar. lib. 30. c. 11, 12. 19. 24.

age, and the intemperance of his youth, he could have little prospect, had recourse to his physicians, and by their prescription took one of those potions, which are supposed to add vigour to the constitution, though they more frequently prove fatal to it. This was its effect on a frame so feeble and exhausted as that of Ferdinand; for, though he survived a violent disorder which it at first occasioned, it brought on such an habitual languor and dejection of mind, as rendered him averse from any serious attention to publick affairs, and fond of frivolous amusements, on which he had not hitherto bestowed much time²⁷. Though he now despaired of having any son of his own, his jealousy of the Archduke did not abate, nor could he help viewing him with that aversion, which princes often bear to their successors. In order to gratify this unnatural passion, he made a will, appointing prince Ferdinand, who having been born and educated in Spain, was much beloved by the Spaniards, to be regent of all his kingdoms, until the arrival of the Archduke his brother; and by the same deed he settled upon him the grand-mastership of the three military orders. The former of these grants might have

Book I.

1513.

1515.

Endeavours
to diminish
his power,
by a will in
favour of
Ferdinand,

²⁷ Zurita Annales de Arag. vi. p. 347. P. Mart. Ep. 531.
Argensola Annales de Aragon, lib. i. p. 4.

BOOK I. put it in his power to have disputed the throne with his brother; the latter would, in any event, have rendered him almost independent.

FERDINAND retained to the last that jealous love of power, which was so remarkable through his whole life. Unwilling to resign it, even at the approach of death, he removed continually from place to place, in order to fly from his distemper, or to forget it. Though his strength declined every day, none of his attendants durst mention his condition; nor would he admit his father confessor, who thought such silence criminal and unchristian, into his presence. At last the danger became so imminent, that it could be no longer concealed. Ferdinand received the intimation with a decent fortitude; and touched, perhaps, with compunction at the injustice which he had done his grandson, or influenced by the honest remonstrances of Carvajal, Zapata, and Vargas, his most ancient and faithful counsellors, who represented to him, that by investing prince Ferdinand with the regency, he would infallibly entail a civil war on the two brothers, and by bestowing on him the grandmastership of the military orders, would strip the crown of its noblest ornament and chief strength, he consented to alter his will in both

these particulars. By a new deed he left Charles Book I.
the sole heir of all his dominions, and allotted 1516.
to prince Ferdinand, instead of that throne of ^{Is persuaded}
which he thought himself almost secure, an ^{to alter that}
inconsiderable establishment of fifty thousand will,
ducats a year ²⁸. He died a few hours after sign- and dies.
ing this will, on the twenty-third day of Janu-
ary, one thousand five hundred and sixteen.

CHARLES, to whom such a noble inheritance Education of
descended by his death, was near the full age Charles V.
of sixteen. He had hitherto resided in the Low
Countries, his paternal dominions. Margaret
of Austria, his aunt, and Margaret of York,
the sister of Edward IV. of England, and widow
of Charles the Bold, two princesses of great
virtue and abilities, had the care of forming his
early youth. Upon the death of his father, the
Flemings committed the government of the Low
Countries to his grandfather, the Emperor
Maximilian, with the name rather than the au-
thority of regent ²⁹. Maximilian made choice of
William de Croy lord of Chievres to superintend
the education of the young Prince his grand-

²⁸ Mar. Hist. lib. 30. c. ult. Zurita Annales de Arag. vi.
401. P. Mart. Ep. 565, 566. Argensola Annales de Arag.
lib. 1. p. 11.

²⁹ Pontius Heuterus Rerum Austriacarum, lib. xv. Lov.
1649. lib. 7. c. 2. p. 155.

BOOK I. son ³⁰. That nobleman possessed, in an eminent
 1516. degree, the talents which fitted him for such an
 important office, and discharged the duties of
 it with great fidelity. Under Chievres, Adrian
 of Utrecht acted as preceptor. This prefer-
 ment, which opened his way to the highest dig-
 nities an Ecclesiastic can attain, he owed not to
 his birth, for that was extremely mean; nor to

³¹ The French historians, upon the authority of M. de
 Bellay, Mém. p. 11. have unanimously asserted, that Philip,
 by his last will, having appointed the King of France to
 have the direction of his son's education; Louis XII. with
 a disinterestedness suitable to the confidence reposed in
 him; named Chievres for that office. Even the president
 Henaut has adopted this opinion. Abrégé Chron. A. D.
 1507. Varillas, in his usual manner, pretends to have
 seen Philip's testament. Pract. de l'éducation des Princes,
 p. 16. But the Spanish, German, and Flemish historians
 concur in contradicting this assertion of the French authors.
 It appears from Heuterus, a cotemporary Flemish histo-
 rian of great authority, that Louis XII. by consenting to
 the marriage of Germaine de Foix with Ferdinand, had lost
 much of that confidence which Philip once placed in him;
 that this disgust was increased by the French King's giving
 in marriage to the count of Angoulême his eldest daughter,
 whom he had formerly betrothed to Charles, Heuter. Rer.
 Austr. lib. v. 1511: That the French, a short time before
 Philip's death, had violated the peace, which subsisted be-
 tween them and the Flemings, and Philip had complained
 of this injury, and was ready to resent it. Heuter. ibid.
 All these circumstances render it improbable that Philip,
 who made his will a few days before he died, Heuter. p.

his interest, for he was a stranger to the arts of a court; but to the opinion which his countrymen entertained of his learning. He was indeed no inconsiderable proficient in those frivolous sciences, which, during several centuries, assumed the name of Philosophy, and had published a commentary, which was highly esteemed, upon *The Book of Sentences*, a famous treatise of Petrus Lombardus, considered at that time, as the

BOOK I.

1516.

152, should commit the education of his son to Louis XII. In confirmation of these plausible conjectures, positive testimony can be produced. It appears from Heuterus, that Philip, when he set out for Spain, had entrusted Chievres both with the care of his son's education, and with the government of his dominions in the Low Countries. Heuter. lib. vii. p. 153. That an attempt was made, soon after Philip's death, to have the Emperor Maximilian appointed regent, during the minority of his grandson; but this being opposed, Chievres seems to have continued to discharge both the offices which Philip had committed to him. Heut. ibid. 153. 155. That in the beginning of the year 1508, the Flemings invited Maximilian to accept of the regency; to which he consented and appointed his daughter Margaret, together with a council of Flemings, to exercise the supreme authority, when he himself should, at any time, be absent. He likewise named Chievres as governor, and Adrian of Utrecht as preceptor to his son. Heut. ibid. 155. 157. What Heuterus relates with respect to this matter is confirmed by Moringus in Vita Adriani, apud Analeccta Casp. Burmanni de Adriano, cap. 10; by Barlandus, Chronic. Brabant. ibid. p. 25; and by Haræus, Annal. Brab. vol. ii. 520, &c.

BOOK I. standard system of metaphysical theology. But
 1516. whatever admiration these procured him in an illiterate age, it was soon found that a man accustomed to the retirement of a college, unacquainted with the world, and without any tincture of taste or elegance, was by no means qualified for rendering science agreeable to a young prince. Charles, accordingly, discovered an early aversion to learning, and an excessive fondness for those violent and martial exercises, to excel in which was the chief pride, and almost the only study of persons of rank in that age. Chievres encouraged this taste, either from a desire of gaining his pupil by indulgence, or from too slight an opinion of the advantages of literary accomplishments³¹. He instructed him, however, with great care in the arts of government; he made him study the history not only of his own kingdoms, but of those with which they were connected; he accustomed him, from the time of his assuming the government of Flanders in the year one thousand five hundred and fifteen, to attend to business; he persuaded him to peruse all papers relating to public affairs; to be present at the deliberations of his privy-counsellors, and to propose to them himself those matters, concerning which he required

The first openings of his character.

³¹ Jovii Vita Adriani, p. 91. Struvii Corpus Hist. Germ. ii. 967. P. Heuter. Rer. Austr. lib. vii. c. 3. p. 157.
 their

their opinion³². From such an education, Charles contracted habits of gravity and recollection which scarcely suited his time of life. The first openings of his genius did not indicate that superiority which its maturer age displayed³³. He did not discover in his youth that impetuosity of spirit which commonly ushers in an active and enterprising manhood. Nor did his early obsequiousness to Chievres, and his other favourites, promise that capacious and decisive judgment, which afterwards directed the affairs of one half of Europe. But his subjects, dazzled with the external accomplishments of a graceful figure and manly address, and viewing his character with that partiality which is always shown to princes during their youth, entertained sanguine hopes of his adding lustre to those crowns which descended to him by the death of Ferdinand.

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1516.

THE kingdoms of Spain, as is evident from the view which I have given of their political constitution, were, at that time, in a situation, which required an administration, no less vigorous than prudent. The feudal institutions, which had been introduced into all its different provinces by the Goths, the Suevi, and the Van-

State of Spain requires vigorous administration.

³² Mémoires de Bellay, 8vo. Par. 1573. p. 11. P. Heuter. lib. viii. c. 1. p. 184.

³³ P. Martyr, Ep. 569. 655.

BOOK I.

1516.

dals, subsisted in great force. The nobles, who were powerful and warlike, had long possessed all the exorbitant privileges, which these institutions vested in their order. The cities in Spain were more numerous and more considerable, than the genius of feudal government, naturally an enemy to commerce, and to regular police, seemed to admit. The personal rights, and political influence, which the inhabitants of these cities had acquired, were extensive. The royal prerogative, circumscribed by the privileges of the nobility, and by the pretensions of the people, was confined within very narrow limits. Under such a form of government, the principles of discord were many; the bond of union was extremely feeble; and Spain felt not only all the inconveniencies occasioned by the defects in the feudal system, but was exposed to disorders arising from the peculiarities in its own constitution.

DURING the long administration of Ferdinand, no internal commotion, it is true, had arisen in Spain. His superior abilities enabled him to restrain the turbulence of the nobles, and to moderate the jealousy of the commons. By the wisdom of his domestic government, by the sagacity with which he conducted his foreign operations, and by the high opinion that his

subjects entertained of both, he preserved among them a degree of tranquillity, greater than was natural to a constitution, in which the seeds of discord and disorder were so copiously mingled. But, by the death of Ferdinand, these restraints were at once withdrawn; and faction and discontent, from being long repressed, were ready to break out with fiercer animosity.

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1516.

IN order to prevent those evils, Ferdinand had in his last will taken a most prudent precaution, by appointing Cardinal Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, to be sole regent of Castile, until the arrival of his grandson in Spain. The singular character of this man, and the extraordinary qualities which marked him out for that office, at such a juncture, merit a particular description. He was descended of an honourable, not of a wealthy family; and the circumstances of his parents, as well as his own inclinations, having determined him to enter into the church, he early obtained benefices of great value, and which placed him in the way of the highest preferment. All these, however, he renounced at once; and after undergoing a very severe noviciate, assumed the habit of St. Francis in a monastery of Observantine friars, one of the most rigid orders in the Romish Church. There he soon became eminent for his uncom-

Ferdinand
had appointed
Cardinal
Ximenes
regent.

His rise and
character.

BOOK I. mon austerity of manners, and for those excesses
1516. of superstitious devotion, which are the proper characteristics of the monastick life. But notwithstanding these extravagances, to which weak and enthusiastic minds alone are usually prone, his understanding, naturally penetrating and decisive, retained its full vigour, and acquired him such great authority in his own order, as raised him to be their provincial. His reputation for sanctity soon procured him the office of father confessor to Queen Isabella, which he accepted with the utmost reluctance. He preserved in a court the same austerity of manners, which had distinguished him in the cloister. He continued to make all his journies on foot; he subsisted only upon alms; his acts of mortification were as severe as ever, and his penances as rigorous. Isabella, pleased with her choice, conferred on him, not long after, the Archbishoprick of Toledo, which next to the Papacy, is the richest dignity in the church of Rome. This honour he declined with a firmness, which nothing but the authoritative injunction of the Pope was able to overcome. Nor did this height of promotion change his manners. Though obliged to display in public that magnificence which became his station, he himself retained his monastick severity. Under his pontifical robes he constantly wore the coarse

frock of St. Francis, the rents in which he used to patch with his own hands. He at no time used linen ; but was commonly clad in hair-cloth. He slept always in his habit , most frequently on the ground , or on boards , rarely in a bed. He did not taste any of the delicacies which appeared at his table , but satisfied himself with that simple diet which the rule of his order prescribed³⁴. Notwithstanding these peculiarities , so opposite to the manners of the world , he possessed a thorough knowledge of its affairs ; and no sooner was he called by his station , and by the high opinion which Ferdinand and Isabella entertained of him , to take a principal share in the administration , than he displayed talents for business , which rendered the fame of his wisdom equal to that of his sanctity. Bold and original in all his plans , his political conduct flowed from his real character , and partook both of its virtues and its defects. His extensive genius suggested to him schemes , vast and magnificent. Conscious of the integrity of his intentions , he pursued these with unremitting and undaunted firmness. Accustomed from his early youth to mortify his own passions , he shewed little indulgence towards those of other men. Taught by his system of

³⁴ Histoire de l'administration du Card. Ximen. par Mich. Baudier , 4to. 1635. p. 13.

BOOK I. religion to check even his most innocent desires,
 1516. he was the enemy of every thing to which he
 could affix the name of elegance or pleasure.
 Though free from any suspicion of cruelty, he
 discovered in all his commerce with the world
 a severe inflexibility of mind, and austerity of
 character, peculiar to the monastick profession,
 and which can hardly be conceived in a country
 where that is unknown.

Cardinal
 Adrian ap-
 pointed re-
 gent by
 Charles.

SUCH was the man to whom Ferdinand com-
 mitted the regency of Castile, and though
 Ximenes was then near fourscore, and perfectly
 acquainted with the labour and difficulty of the
 office, his natural intrepidity of mind, and zeal
 for the public good, prompted him to accept
 of it without hesitation. Adrian of Utrecht,
 who had been sent into Spain a few months
 before the death of Ferdinand, produced full
 powers from the archduke to assume the name
 and authority of regent upon the demise of his
 grandfather; but such was the aversion of the
 Spaniards to the government of a stranger, and
 so unequal the abilities of the two competitors,
 that Adrian's claim would at once have been
 rejected, if Ximenes himself, from complaisance
 to his new master, had not consented to acknow-
 ledge him as regent, and to carry on the govern-
 ment in conjunction with him. By this, how-

Ximenes
 obtains the
 sole direc-
 tion of af-
 fairs.

ever, Adrian acquired a dignity merely nominal. BOOK I.
 Ximenes, though he treated him with great de- 1516.
 cency, and even respect, retained the whole
 power in his own hands³⁵.

THE Cardinal's first care was to observe the His precau-
 motions of the Infant Don Ferdinand, who tions against
 having been flattered with so near a prospect of the Infant
 supreme power, bore the disappointment of his Don Fer-
 hopes with greater impatience than could have dinand.
 been expected of a prince so young. Ximenes,
 under pretence of providing more effectually
 for his safety, removed him from Guadalupe,
 the place in which he had been educated, to
 Madrid, where he fixed the residence of the
 court. There he was under the Cardinal's own
 eye, and his conduct, with that of his domestics,
 was watched with the utmost attention³⁶.

The first intelligence he received from the
 Low Countries, gave greater disquiet to the
 Cardinal, and convinced him how difficult a
 task it would be to conduct the affairs of a
 young Prince, under the influence of counsellors
 unacquainted with the laws and manners of
 Spain. No sooner did the account of Ferdi-

³⁵ Gometius de reb. gest. Ximenii, p. 150. fol. Compl.
 1569.

³⁶ Miniana Contin. Marianæ, lib. 1. c. 2.
 Baudier, Hist. de Ximenes, p. 118.

BOOK I. nand's death reach Brussels, than Charles, by
 1516. the advice of his Flemish ministers, resolved to
 Charles as- assume the title of King. By the laws of Spain,
 fumes the title of the sole right to the crowns both of Castile and
 king. of Aragon belonged to Joanna; and though
 her infirmities disqualified her from governing,
 this incapacity had not been declared by any
 publick act of the Cortes in either kingdom; so
 that the Spaniards considered this resolution,
 not only as a direct violation of their privileges,
 but as an unnatural usurpation in a son on the
 prerogatives of a mother, towards whom, in her
 present unhappy situation, he manifested a less
 delicate regard than her subjects had always ex-
 pressed³⁷. The Flemish court, however, having
 prevailed both on the Pope and on the Emperor
 to address letters to Charles as King of Castile;
 the former of whom, it was pretended, had a
 right, as head of the church; and the latter, as
 head of the empire, to confer this title; instruc-
 tions were sent to Ximenes, to prevail on the
 Spaniards to acknowledge it. Ximenes, though
 he had earnestly remonstrated against the mea-
 sure, as no less unpopular than unnecessary,
 resolved to exert all his authority and credit in
 carrying it into execution, and immediately
 assembled such of the nobles as were then at
 court. What Charles required was laid before

³⁷ P. Mart. Ep. 568.

them; and when, instead of complying with his demands, they began to murmur against such an unprecedented encroachment on their privileges, and to talk high of the rights of Joanna, and their oath of allegiance to her, Ximenes hastily interposed, and with that firm and decisive tone which was natural to him, told them, that they were not called now to deliberate, but to obey; that their sovereign did not apply to them for advice, but expected submission; and "this day, added he, Charles shall be proclaimed King of Castile in Madrid, and the rest of the cities will follow its example." On the spot he gave orders for that purpose; and notwithstanding the novelty of the practice, and the secret discontents of many persons of distinction, Charles's title was universally recognized. In Aragon, where the privileges of the subject were more extensive, and the abilities as well as authority of the archbishop of Saragossa, whom Ferdinand had appointed regent, were far inferior to those of Ximenes, the same obsequiousness to the will of Charles did not appear, nor was he acknowledged there under any other character but that of Prince, until his arrival in Spain.

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1516.

Recognized through the influence of Ximenes,

April 13.

³⁸ Gométius, p. 152, &c. Baudier Hist. de Ximen. p. 121.

³⁹ P. Mart. Ep. 572.

BOOK I.

1516.

His schemes
for extend-
ing the pre-
rogative,

XIMENES, though possessed only of delegated power, which, from his advanced age, he could not expect to enjoy long, assumed, together with the character of regent, all the ideas natural to a monarch, and adopted schemes for extending the regal authority, which he pursued with as much intrepidity and ardour, as if he himself had been to reap the advantages resulting from their success. The exorbitant privileges of the Castilian nobles circumscribed the prerogative of the Prince within very narrow limits. These the Cardinal considered as so many unjust extortions from the crown, and determined to reduce them. Dangerous as the attempt was, there were circumstances in his situation which promised him greater success than any King of Castile could have expected. His strict and prudent œconomy of his archiepiscopal revenues, furnished him with more ready money, than the crown could at any time command; the sanctity of his manners, his charity and munificence, rendered him the idol of the people; and the nobles themselves, not suspecting any danger from him, did not observe his motions with the same jealous attention, as they would have watched those of one of their monarchs.

by depre-
sing the no-
bility,

IMMEDIATELY upon his accession to the regency, several of the nobles, fancying that the

reins of government would of consequence be somewhat relaxed, began to assemble their vassals, and to prosecute, by force of arms, private quarrels and pretensions, which the authority of Ferdinand had obliged them to dissemble, or to relinquish. But Ximenes, who had taken into pay a good body of troops, opposed and defeated all their designs with unexpected vigour and facility; and though he did not treat the authors of these disorders with any cruelty, he forced them to acts of submission, extremely mortifying to the haughty spirit of Castilian grandees.

BOOK I.
1516.

BUT while the Cardinal's attacks were confined to individuals, and every act of rigour was justified by the appearance of necessity, founded on the forms of justice, and tempered with a mixture of lenity, there was scarcely room for jealousy or complaint. It was not so with his next measure, which, by striking at a privilege essential to the nobility, gave a general alarm to the whole order. By the feudal constitution, the military power was lodged in the hands of the nobles, and men of an inferior condition were called into the field only as their vassals, and to follow their banners. A King with scanty revenues, and a limited prerogative, depended on these potent barons in all his operations ^{by forming a body of troops depending on the crown,}

BOOK I. rations. It was with their forces he attacked
 1516. his enemies, and with them he defended his
 own kingdom. While at the head of troops at-
 tached warmly to their own lords, and accustomed
 to obey no other commands, his authority was
 precarious, and his efforts feeble. From this
 state Ximenes resolved to deliver the crown;
 and as mercenary standing armies were unknown
 under the feudal government, and would have
 been odious to a martial and generous people,
 he issued a proclamation, commanding every
 city in Castile to enroll a certain number of its
 burgeses, in order that they might be trained
 to the use of arms on Sundays and holidays; he
 engaged to provide officers to command them
 at the publick expence; and as an encourage-
 ment to the private men, promised them an ex-
 emption from all taxes and impositions. The
 frequent incursions of the Moors from Africa,
 and the necessity of having some force ready to
 oppose them, furnished a plausible pretence for
 this innovation. The object really in view was
 to secure the King a body of troops independent
 of his barons, and which might serve to coun-
 erbalance their power⁴⁰. The nobles were not
 ignorant of his intention, and saw how effectually
 the scheme which he had adopted would ac-
 complish his end; but as a measure which had

⁴⁰ Miniana, *Continuatio Marianæ*, fol. Hag. 1733. p. 3.

the pious appearance of resisting the progress of the infidels was extremely popular, and as any opposition to it arising from their order alone, would have been imputed wholly to interested motives, they endeavoured to excite the cities themselves to refuse obedience, and to remonstrate against the proclamation, as inconsistent with their charters and privileges. In consequence of their instigations, Burgos, Valladolid, and several other cities, rose in open mutiny. Some of the grandees declared themselves their protectors. Violent remonstrances were presented to the King. His Flemish counsellors were alarmed. Ximenes alone continued firm and undaunted; and partly by terror, partly by intreaty; by force in some instances, and by forbearance in others, he prevailed on all the refractory cities to comply⁴¹. During his administration, he continued to execute his plan with vigour, but soon after his death it was entirely dropt.

His success in this scheme for reducing the exorbitant power of the nobility, encouraged him to attempt a diminution of their possessions, which were no less exorbitant. During the contests and disorders inseparable from the feudal government, the nobles, ever attentive to their

Book I.

1516.

By recalling
the grants
of former
monarchs to
the nobility.

⁴¹ P. Mart. Ep. 556, &c. Gometius, p. 260, &c.

BOOK I.

1516.

own interest, and taking advantage of the weakness or distress of their monarchs, had seized some parts of the royal demesnes, obtained grants of others, and having gradually wrested almost the whole out of the hands of the Prince, had annexed them to their own estates. The rights, by which most of the grandees held these lands, were extremely defective; it was from some successful usurpation, which the crown had been too feeble to dispute, that many derived their only title to possession. An enquiry carried back to the origin of these encroachments, which were almost co-eval with the feudal system, was impracticable; and as it would have stripped every nobleman in Spain of great part of his lands, it must have excited a general revolt. Such a step was too bold, even for the enterprising genius of Ximenes. He confined himself to the reign of Ferdinand; and beginning with the pensions granted during that time, refused to make any farther payment, because all right to them expired with his life. He then called to account such as had acquired crown-lands under the administration of that monarch, and at once resumed whatever he had alienated. The effects of these revocations extended to many persons of high rank; for though Ferdinand was a Prince of little generosity, yet he and Isabella having been raised to the throne of Castile

by a powerful faction of the nobles, they were obliged to reward the zeal of their adherents with great liberality, and the royal demesnes were their only fund for that purpose. The addition made to the revenue of the crown by these revocations, together with his own frugal œconomy, enabled Ximenes not only to discharge all the debts which Ferdinand had left, and to remit considerable sums to Flanders, but to pay the officers of his new militia, and to establish magazines more numerous, and better furnished with artillery, arms, and warlike stores, than Spain had ever possessed in any former age⁴². The prudent and disinterested application of these sums, was a full apology to the people for the rigour with which they were exacted.

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THE nobles, alarmed at these repeated attacks, began to think of precautions for the safety of their order. Many cabals were formed, loud complaints were uttered, and desperate resolutions taken; but before they proceeded to extremities, they appointed some of their numbers to examine the powers in consequence of which the Cardinal exercised acts of such high authority. The admiral of Castile, the duke de Infantado, and the conde de Benevento, grandees of the first rank, were entrusted

The nobles
oppose his
measures,

⁴² Flechier Vie de Ximen. ii. 600.

BOOK I. with this commission. Ximenes received them
 1516. with cold civility, and in answer to their demand, produced the testament of Ferdinand by which he was appointed regent, together with the ratification of that deed by Charles. To both these they objected; and he endeavoured to establish their validity. As the conversation grew warm, he led them insensibly towards a balcony, from which they had a view of a large body of troops under arms, and of a formidable train of artillery. "Behold," says he, pointing to these and raising his voice, "the powers which I have received from his Catholick majesty. With these I govern Castile; and with these I will govern it, until the King your master and mine takes possession of his kingdom⁴³." A declaration so bold and haughty silenced them, and astonished their associates. To take arms against a man aware of his danger, and prepared for his defence, was what despair alone would dictate. All thoughts of a general confederacy against the Cardinal's administration were laid aside; and except from some slight commotions, excited by the private resentment of particular noblemen, the tranquillity of Castile suffered no interruption.

Thwarted
 by Charles's
 Flemish
 ministers.

IT was not only from the opposition of the Spanish nobility that obstacles arose to the exe-

⁴³ Flech. ii. 551. Ferreras. Hist. viii. 433.

cution of the Cardinal's schemes; he had a constant struggle to maintain with the Flemish ministers, who, presuming upon their favour with the young King, aimed at directing the affairs of Spain, as well as those of their own country. Jealous of his great abilities and independent spirit, they considered Ximenes rather as a rival, who might circumscribe their power, than as a minister, who by his prudence and vigour was adding to the grandeur and authority of their master. Every complaint against his administration was listened to with pleasure by the courtiers in the Low Countries. Unnecessary obstructions were thrown by their means in the way of all his measures; and though they could not either with decency or safety deprive him of the office of regent, they endeavoured to lessen his authority by dividing it. They soon discovered that Adrian of Utrecht, already joined with him in office, had neither genius nor spirit sufficient to give the least check to his proceedings; and therefore Charles, by their advice, added to the commission of regency La Chau, a Flemish gentleman, and afterwards Amerstorf, a nobleman of Holland; the former distinguished for his address, the latter for his firmness. Ximenes, though no stranger to the malevolent intention of the Flemish courtiers, received these new associates with all the external marks of dis-

Book I.

1516.

An additional number of regents appointed.

BOOK I. 1516. tinction due to the office with which they were invested; but when they came to enter upon business, he abated nothing of that air of superiority with which he had treated Adrian, and still retained the sole direction of affairs. The Spaniards, more averse, perhaps, than any other people to the government of strangers, approved of all his efforts to preserve his authority. Even the nobles, influenced by this national passion, and forgetting their jealousies and discontents, chose rather to see the supreme power in the hands of one of their countrymen, whom they feared, than in those of foreigners, whom they hated.

Ximenes retains the direction of affairs.

His successful war in Navarre.

XIMENES, though engaged in such great schemes of domestick policy, and embarrassed by the artifices and intrigues of the Flemish ministers had the burden of two foreign wars to support. The one was in Navarre, invaded by its unfortunate monarch, John d'Albert. The death of Ferdinand, the absence of Charles, the discord and disaffection which reigned among the Spanish nobles, seemed to present him with a favourable opportunity of recovering his dominions. The Cardinal's vigilance, however, defeated a measure so well concerted. As he foresaw the danger to which that kingdom might be exposed, one of his first acts of administra-

tions was to order thither a considerable body of troops. While the King was employed with one part of his army in the siege of St. Jean Pied en Port, Villalva, an officer of great experience and courage, attacked the other by surprise, and cut it to pieces. The King instantly retreated with precipitation, and an end was put to the war⁴². But as Navarre was filled at that time with towns and castles, slightly fortified, and weakly garrisoned, which being unable to resist an enemy, served only to furnish him with places of retreat; Ximenes, always bold and decisive in his measures, ordered every one of these to be dismantled, except Pampe-luna, the fortifications of which he proposed to render very strong. To this uncommon precaution Spain owes the possession of Navarre. The French, since that period, have often entered, and have as often over-run the open country; but while they were exposed to all the inconveniencies attending an invading army, the Spaniards have easily drawn troops from the neighbouring provinces to oppose them; and the French, being destitute of strong towns to which they could retire, have been obliged to abandon their conquest with as much rapidity as they gained it.

⁴² P. Mart. Ep. 570.

BOOK I.

1516.

His opera-
tions in
Africa less
fortunate.

THE war which he carried on in Africa, against the famous adventurer Horuc Barbarossa, who, from a private corsair, raised himself, by his singular valour and address, to be King of Algiers and Tunis, was far from being equally successful. The ill conduct of the Spanish general, and the rash valour of his troops, presented Barbarossa with an easy victory. Many perished in the battle, more in the retreat, and the remainder returned into Spain covered with infamy. The magnanimity, however, with which the Cardinal bore this disgrace, the only one he experienced during his administration, added new lustre to his character⁴³. Great composure of temper under a disappointment, was not expected from a man so remarkable for the eagerness and impatience with which he urged on the execution of all his schemes.

Corruption
of the Flemish
ministers, particularly
of Chievres.

THIS disaster was soon forgotten; while the conduct of the Flemish court proved the cause of constant uneasiness, not only to the Cardinal, but to the whole Spanish nation. All the great qualities of Chievres, the prime minister and favourite of the young King, were sullied with an ignoble and sordid avarice. The accession of his master to the crown of Spain, opened a new and copious source for the gratification of

⁴³ Gometius, lib. vi. p. 179.

this passion. During the time of Charles's residence in Flanders, the whole tribe of pretenders to offices or to favour resorted thither. They soon discovered that, without the patronage of Chievres, it was vain to hope for preferment; nor did they want sagacity to find out the proper method of securing his protection. Vast sums of money were drawn out of Spain. Every thing was venal, and disposed of to the highest bidder. After the example of Chievres, the inferior Flemish ministers engaged in this traffick, which became as general and avowed, as it was infamous ⁴⁴. The Spaniards were filled with rage when they beheld offices of great importance to the welfare of their country, set to sale by strangers, unconcerned for its honour or its happiness. Ximenes, disinterested in his whole administration, and a stranger, from his native grandeur of mind, to the passion of avarice, inveighed with the utmost boldness against the venality of the Flemings. He represented to the King in strong terms, the murmurs and indignation which their behaviour excited among a free and high-spirited people, and besought him to set out without loss of time for Spain, that, by his presence, he might dissipate the clouds which were gathering all over the kingdom ⁴⁵.

⁴⁴ Miniana, Contin. l. i. c. 2.

⁴⁵ P. Mart. Ep. 576.

BOOK I. CHARLES was fully sensible that he had delayed too long to take possession of his dominions in Spain. Powerful obstacles, however, stood in his way, and detained him in the Low Countries. The war which the league of Cambray had kindled in Italy, still subsisted; though, during its course, the armies of all the parties engaged in it, had changed their destination and their objects. France was now in alliance with Venice, which it had at first combined to destroy. Maximilian and Ferdinand had for some years carried on hostilities against France, their original ally, to the valour of whose troops the confederacy had been indebted for all its success. Together with his kingdoms, Ferdinand transmitted this war to his grandson; and there was reason to expect that Maximilian, always fond of new enterprizes, would persuade the young monarch to enter into it with ardour. But the Flemings, who had long possessed an extensive commerce, which during the league of Cambray, had grown to a great height upon the ruins of the Venetian trade, dreaded a rupture with France; and Chievres, sagacious to discern the true interest of his country, and not warped on this occasion by his love of wealth, warmly declared for maintaining peace with the French nation. Francis I. destitute of allies, and solicitous to secure his late conquests in Italy by a

1516.
Charles per-
suaded by
Ximenes to
visit Spain.

treaty, listened with joy to the first overtures of accommodation. Chievres himself conducted the negociation in the name of Charles. Gouffier appeared as plenipotentiary for Francis. Each of them had presided over the education of the Prince whom he represented. They had both adopted the same pacific system; and were equally persuaded that the union of the two monarchs was the happiest event for themselves, as well as for their kingdoms. In such hands the negociations did not languish. A few days after opening their conferences at Noyon, they concluded a treaty of confederacy and mutual defence between the two monarchs; the chief articles in which were, that Francis should give in marriage to Charles his eldest daughter, the Princess Louise, an infant of a year old, and as her dowry, should make over to him all his claims and pretensions upon the kingdom of Naples; that in consideration of Charles's being already in possession of Naples, he should, until the accomplishment of the marriage, pay an hundred thousand crowns a year to the French King; and the half of that sum annually, as long as the Princess had no children; that when Charles shall arrive in Spain, the heirs of the King of Navarre may represent to him their right to that kingdom; and if it do not give them satisfaction, Francis should be at liberty to assist

Book I.

1516.

A peace concluded with France, Aug. 13.

BOOK I.

1546.

them with all his forces ⁴⁶. This alliance not only united Charles and Francis, but obliged Maximilian, who was unable alone to cope with the French and Venetians, to enter into a treaty with those powers, which put a final period to the bloody and tedious war that the league of Cambray had occasioned. Europe enjoyed a few years of universal tranquillity, and was indebted for that blessing to two Princes, whose rivalry and ambition kept it in perpetual discord and agitation during the remainder of their reigns.

The Flemings
averse to Charles's
visit to Spain.

By the treaty of Noyon, Charles secured a safe passage into Spain. It was not, however, the interest of his Flemish ministers, that he should visit that kingdom soon. While he resided in Flanders, the revenues of the Spanish crown were spent there, and they engrossed, without any competitors, all the effects of their monarch's generosity; their country became the seat of government, and all favours were dispensed by them. Of all these advantages, they ran the risque of seeing themselves deprived, from the moment that their sovereign entered Spain. The Spaniards would naturally assume the direction of their own affairs; the Low Countries would be considered only as a pro-

⁴⁶ Leonard Recueil des Traités, tom. ii. 69.

vince of that mighty monarchy; and they who now distributed the favours of the Prince to others, must then be content to receive them from the hands of strangers. But what Chievres chiefly wished to avoid was, an interview between the King and Ximenes. On the one hand, the wisdom, the integrity, and the magnanimity of that prelate, gave him a wonderful ascendant over the minds of men; and it was extremely probable, that these great qualities, added to the reverence due to his age and office, would command the respect of a young Prince, who, capable of noble and generous sentiments himself, would, in proportion to his admiration of the Cardinal's virtues, lessen his deference towards persons of another character. Or, on the other hand, if Charles should allow his Flemish favourites to retain all the influence over his councils which they at present possessed, it was easy to foresee that the Cardinal would remonstrate loudly against such an indignity to the Spanish nation, and vindicate the rights of his country with the same intrepidity and success, that he had asserted the prerogatives of the crown. For these reasons, all his Flemish counsellors combined to retard his departure; and Charles, unsuspecting, from want of experience, and fond of his native country, suffered himself to be unnecessarily detained in the Ne-

BOOK I.

1516.

Afraid of
Ximenes.

BOOK I. therlands a whole year after signing the treaty
1517. of Noyon.

Charles em-
barks for
Spain.

Sept. 13.

THE repeated entreaties of Ximenes, the advice of his grandfather Maximilian, and the impatient murmurs of his Spanish subjects, prevailed on him at last to embark. He was attended not only by Chievres, his prime minister, but by a numerous and splendid train of the Flemish nobles, fond of beholding the grandeur, or of sharing in the bounty of their Prince. After a dangerous voyage, he landed at Villa Viciosa, in the province of Asturias, and was received with such loud acclamations of joy, as a new monarch, whose arrival was so ardently desired, had reason to expect. The Spanish nobility resorted to their sovereign from all parts of the kingdom, and displayed a magnificence which the Flemings were unable to emulate.*

His Flemish
ministers
endeavour
to prevent
an inter-
view with
Ximenes.

XIMENES, who considered the presence of the King as the greatest blessing to his dominions, was advancing towards the coast, as fast as the infirm state of his health would permit, in order to receive him. During his regency, and notwithstanding his extreme old age, he had abated, in no degree, the rigour or frequency of his

* P. Mart. Ep. 599. 601.

mortifications; and to these he added such la- Book I.
 borious assiduity in business, as would have 1517.
 worn out the most youthful and vigorous con-
 stitution. Every day he employed several hours
 in devotion; he celebrated mass in person; he
 even allotted some space for study. Notwith-
 standing these occupations, he regularly attended
 the council; he received and read all papers
 presented to him; he dictated letters and in-
 structions; and took under his inspection all
 business, civil, ecclesiastical, or military. Every
 moment of his time was filled up with some
 serious employment. The only amusement in
 which he indulged himself by way of relaxation
 after business, was to canvass, with a few friars
 and divines, some intricate article in scholastick
 theology. Wasted by such a course of life, the
 infirmities of age daily grew upon him. On
 his journey, a violent disorder seized him at Bos
 Equillos, attended with uncommon symptoms;
 which his followers considered as the effect of
 poison ⁴⁸, but could not agree whether the crime
 ought to be imputed to the hatred of the
 Spanish nobles, or to the malice of the Flemish
 courtiers. This accident obliging him to stop
 short, he wrote to Charles, and with his usual Charles's
 boldness advised him to dismiss all the strangers ingratitude
 in his train, whose numbers and credit gave to Ximenes.

⁴⁸ Miniana, Contin. lib. i. c. 3,

BOOK I. offence already to the Spaniards, and would ere
1517. long alienate the affections of the whole people. At the same time he earnestly desired to have an interview with the King, that he might inform him of the state of the nation, and the temper of his subjects. To prevent this, not only the Flemings, but the Spanish grandees, employed all their address, and industriously kept Charles at a distance from Aranda, the place to which the Cardinal had removed. Through their suggestions, every measure that he recommended was rejected; the utmost care was taken to make him feel, and to point out to the whole nation, that his power was on the decline; even in things purely trivial, such a choice was always made, as was deemed most disagreeable to him. Ximenes did not bear this treatment with his usual fortitude of spirit. Conscious of his own integrity and merit, he expected a more grateful return from a Prince, to whom he delivered a kingdom more flourishing than it had been in any former age, together with authority more extensive and better established, than the most illustrious of his ancestors had ever possessed. He could not, therefore, on many occasions, refrain from giving vent to his indignation and complaints. He lamented the fate of his country, and foretold the calamities which it would suffer from the insolence, the rapaciousness, and

ignorance of strangers. While his mind was agitated by these passions, he received a letter from the King, in which, after a few cold and formal expressions of regard, he was allowed to retire to his diocese; that after a life of such continued labour, he might end his days in tranquillity. This message proved fatal to Ximenes. His haughty mind, it is probable, would not survive disgrace; perhaps his generous heart could not bear the prospect of the misfortunes ready to fall on his country. Whichsoever of these opinions we embrace, certain it is that he expired a few hours after reading the letter⁴⁹. The variety, the grandeur, and the success of his schemes, during a regency of only twenty months, leave it doubtful, whether his sagacity in council, his prudence in conduct, or his boldness in execution, deserve the greatest praise. His reputation is still high in Spain, not only for wisdom, but for sanctity; and he is the only prime minister mentioned in history, whom his contemporaries revered as a saint⁵⁰, and to whom the people under his government ascribed the power of working miracles.

SOON after the death of Ximenes, Charles made his publick entry, with great pomp, into

⁴⁹ Marfollier, Vie de Ximen. p. 447. Gometius, lib. vii. p. 206, &c. Baudier, Hist. de Ximen. p. 208.

⁵⁰ Flechier, Vie de Ximen. ii. p. 746.

Book I.

1517.

His death,

Nov. 8.

1518.
Cortes held
at Vallado-
lid.

BOOK I. Valladolid, whither he had summoned the Cortes
 1518. of Castile. Though he assumed on all occasions
 the name of King, that title had never been
 acknowledged in the Cortes. The Spaniards
 considering Joanna as possessed of the sole right
 to the crown, and no example of a son's having
 enjoyed the title of King during the life of his
 parents occurring in their history, the Cortes
 discovered all that scrupulous respect for ancient
 forms, and that aversion to innovation, which
 are conspicuous in popular assemblies. The
 presence, however, of their Prince, the address,
 the artifices, and the threats of his ministers,
 prevailed on them at last to proclaim him King,
 in conjunction with his mother, whose name
 they appointed to be placed before that of her
 son in all publick acts. But, when they made
 this concession, they declared, that if, at any
 future period Joanna should recover the exer-
 cise of reason, the whole royal authority should
 return into her hands. At the same time, they
 voted a free gift of six hundred thousand ducats
 to be paid in three years, a sum more consider-
 able than had ever been granted to any former
 monarch ⁵¹.

Declare
 Charles
 King.

Discontent
 of the Casti-
 lians, and
 the causes
 of it.

NOTWITHSTANDING this obsequiousness of
 the Cortes to the will of the King, the most

⁵¹ Miniana, Contin. lib. i. c. 3. P. Mart. Ep. 608.
 Sandoy. p. 12.

violent symptoms of dissatisfaction with his government began to break out in the kingdom. Chievres had acquired over the mind of the young monarch the ascendant not only of a tutor, but of a parent. Charles seemed to have no sentiments but those which his minister inspired, and scarcely uttered a word but what he put into his mouth. He was constantly surrounded by Flemings; no person got access to him without their permission; nor was any admitted to audience but in their presence. As he spoke the Spanish language very imperfectly, his answers were always extremely short, and often delivered with hesitation. From all these circumstances, many of the Spaniards were led to believe that he was a Prince of a slow and narrow genius. Some pretended to discover a strong resemblance between him and his mother, and began to whisper that his capacity for government would never be far superior to hers; and though they who had the best opportunity of judging concerning his character, maintained, that notwithstanding such unpromising appearances, he possessed a large fund of knowledge, as well as of sagacity⁵²; yet all agreed in condemning his partiality towards his countrymen, and his attachment to his favourites as unreasonable and immoderate. Unfortunately for

BOOK I
1518.

⁵² Sandoval, p. 31. P. Mart. Ep. 655.

BOOK I. Charles, these favourites were unworthy of his
1518. confidence. To amass wealth seems to have been their only aim; and as they had reason to fear, that either their master's good sense, or the indignation of the Spaniards, might soon abridge their power, they hastened to improve the present opportunity, and their avarice was the more rapacious, because they expected their authority to be of no long duration. All honours, offices, and benefices, were either engrossed by the Flemings, or publickly sold by them. Chievres, his wife, and Sauvage, whom Charles, on the death of Ximenes, had imprudently raised to be chancellor of Castile, vied with each other in all the refinements of extortion and venality. Not only the Spanish historians, who, from resentment, may be suspected of exaggeration, but Peter Martyr Angleria, an Italian, who resided at that time in the court of Spain, and who was under no temptation to deceive the persons to whom his letters are addressed, give a description which is almost incredible, of the insatiable and shameless covetousness of the Flemings. According to Angleria's calculation, which he asserts to be extremely moderate, they remitted into the Low Countries, in the space of ten months, no less a sum than a million and one hundred thousand ducats.

ducats. The nomination of William de Croy, Chievres' nephew, a young man not of canonical age, to the Archbishoprick of Toledo, exasperated the Spaniards more than all these exactions. They considered the elevation of a stranger to the head of their church, and to the richest benefice in the kingdom, not only as an injury, but as an insult to the whole nation; both clergy and laity, the former from interest, the latter from indignation, joined in exclaiming against it⁵³.

BOOK I.

1518.

CHARLES leaving Castile thus disgusted with his administration, set out for Saragossa, the capital of Aragon, that he might be present in the Cortes of that kingdom. On his way thither, he took leave of his brother Ferdinand, whom he sent into Germany on the pretence of visiting their grandfather, Maximilian, in his old age. To this prudent precaution, Charles owed the preservation of his Spanish dominions. During the violent commotions which arose there soon after this period, the Spaniards would infallibly have offered the crown to a Prince, who was the darling of the whole nation; nor did Ferdinand want ambition, or counsellors, that might have prompted him to accept of the offer.⁵⁴

Charles holds the Cortes of Aragon.

⁵³ Sandoval, 28 - 31. P. Mart. Ep. 608. 611. 613, 614. 622, 623. 659. Miniana, Contin. lib. i. c. 3. p. 8.

⁵⁴ P. Martyr, Ep. 619. Ferreras, viii. 460.

BOOK I. THE Aragonese had not hitherto acknow-

1518.

The Arago-
nese more
untractable
than the
Castilians.

ledged Charles as King, nor would they allow the Cortes to be assembled in his name, but in that of the Justiza, to whom, during an interregnum, this privilege belonged⁵⁵. The opposition Charles had to struggle with in the Cortes of Aragon, was more violent and obstinate than that which he had overcome in Castile; after long delays, however, and with much difficulty, he persuaded the members to confer on him the title of King, in conjunction with his mother. At the same time he bound himself by that solemn oath, which the Aragonese exacted of their King, never to violate any of their rights or liberties. When a donative was demanded, the members were still more intractable; many months elapsed before they would agree to grant Charles two hundred thousand ducats, and that sum they appropriated so strictly for paying debts of the crown, which had long been forgotten, that a very small part of it came into the King's hands. What had happened in Castile, taught them caution, and determined them rather to satisfy the claims of their fellow-citizens, how obsolete soever, than to furnish strangers the means of enriching themselves with the spoils of their country⁵⁶.

⁵⁵ P. Martyr, Ep. 605.

⁵⁶ P. Martyr, Ep. 615 — 634.

DURING these proceedings of the Cortes, am-
bassadors arrived at Saragossa from Francis I.
and the young King of Navarre, demanding the
restitution of that kingdom in terms of the treaty
of Noyon. But neither Charles, nor the Casti-
lian nobles whom he consulted on this occasion,
discovered any inclination to part with this ac-
quisition. A conference held soon after at
Montpelier, in order to bring this matter to an
amicable issue, was altogether fruitless; while
the French urged the injustice of the usurpation,
the Spaniards were attentive only to its im-
portance⁵⁷.

BOOK I.
1518.

FROM Aragon, Charles proceeded to Cata-
lonia, where he wasted as much time, encoun-
tered more difficulties, and gained less money.
The Flemings were now become so odious in
every province of Spain by their exactions, that
the desire of mortifying them, and of disap-
pointing their avarice, augmented the jealousy
with which a free people usually conduct their
deliberations.

1519.

THE Castilians, who had felt most sensibly
the weight and rigour of the oppressive schemes
carried on by the Flemings, resolved no longer
to submit with a tameness fatal to themselves,

Combina-
tion of the
Castilians
against the
Flemish mis-
tifiers.

⁵⁷ P. Martyr, Ep. 605. 633. 640.

BOOK I. and which rendered them the objects of scorn
1519. among the rest of the Spaniards. Segovia, Toledo, Seville, and several other cities of the first rank, entered into a confederacy for the defence of their rights and privileges; and notwithstanding the silence of the nobility, who, on this occasion, discovered neither the public spirit, nor the resolution which became their order, the confederates laid before the King a full view of the state of the kingdom, and of the mal-administration of his favourites. The preferment of strangers, the exportation of the current coin, the increase of taxes, were the grievances of which they chiefly complained; and of these they demanded redress with that boldness which is natural to a free people. These remonstrances, presented at first at Saragossa, and renewed afterwards at Barcelona, Charles treated with great neglect. The confederacy, however, of these cities at this juncture, was the beginning of that famous union among the commons of Castile, which not long after threw the kingdom into such violent convulsions as shook the throne, and almost overturned the constitution⁵⁸.

SOON after Charles's arrival at Barcelona, he received the account of an event which inter-

⁵⁸ P. Martyr, Ep. 630. Ferreras, viii. 464.

ested him much more than the murmurs of the Castilians, or the scruples of the Cortes of Catalonia. This was the death of the Emperor Maximilian; an occurrence of small importance in itself, for he was a Prince conspicuous neither for his virtues, nor his power, nor his abilities; but rendered by its consequences more memorable than any that had happened during several ages. It broke that profound and universal peace which then reigned in the Christian world; it excited a rivalry between two Princes, which threw all Europe into agitation, and kindled wars more general, and of longer duration, than had hitherto been known in modern times.

BOOK I.

1519.

Death of the
Emperor
Maximilian,
January 12.

THE revolutions occasioned by the expedition of the French King, Charles VIII. into Italy, had inspired the European princes with new ideas concerning the importance of the Imperial dignity. The claims of the Empire upon some of the Italian states were numerous; its jurisdiction over others was extensive; and though the former had been almost abandoned, and the latter seldom exercised, under princes of slender abilities and of little influence, it was obvious, that, in the hands of an Emperor possessed of power or genius, they would be employed as engines for stretching his dominion over the

BOOK I, greater part of that country. Even Maximilian, feeble and unsteady as his conduct always was, had availed himself of the infinite pretensions of the Empire, and had reaped advantage from every war and every negotiation in Italy during his reign. These considerations, added to the dignity of the station, confessedly the first among Christian princes and to the rights inherent in the office, which, if exerted with vigour, were far from being inconsiderable, rendered the Imperial crown more than ever an object of ambition.

Maximilian had endeavoured to secure the Imperial crown to his grandson.

NOT long before his death, Maximilian had discovered great solicitude to preserve this dignity in the Austrian family, and to procure the King of Spain to be chosen his successor. But he himself having never been crowned by the Pope, a ceremony deemed essential in that age, was considered only as Emperor *elect*. Though historians did not attend to that distinction, neither the Italian nor German chancery bestowed any other title upon him than that of King of the Romans; and no example occurring in history of any person's being chosen a successor to a King of the Romans, the Germans, always tenacious of their forms, and unwilling to confer upon Charles an office for which their con-

stitution knew no name, obstinately refused to gratify Maximilian in that point ⁵². 1519. BOOK I.

By his death, this difficulty was at once removed, and Charles openly aspired to that dignity which his grandfather had attempted, without success, to secure for him. At the same time, Francis I. a powerful rival, entered the lists against him; and the attention of all Europe was fixed upon this competition, no less illustrious from the high rank of the candidates, than from the importance of the prize for which they contended. Each of them urged his pretensions with sanguine expectations, and with no unpromising prospect of success. Charles considered the Imperial crown as belonging to him of right, from its long continuance in the Austrian line; he knew that none of the German princes possessed power or influence enough to appear as his antagonist; he flattered himself, that no consideration would induce the natives of Germany to exalt any foreign prince to a dignity, which during so many ages had been deemed peculiar to their own nation; and least of all, that they would confer this honour upon Francis I. the sovereign of a people whose genius,

Charles and Francis I. competitors for the empire.

Pretensions and hopes of Charles.

⁵² Guicciardini, lib. 13. p. 15. Hist. Génér. d'Allemagne, par P. Barre, tom. viii. part. 1. p. 1087. P. Heuter. Rer. Austr. lib. vii. c. 17. 179. lib. viii. c. 2. p. 183.

BOOK I. and laws, and manners, differed so widely from
1519. those of the Germans, that it was hardly possible
to establish any cordial union between them; he
trusted not a little to the effect of Maximilian's
negociations, which, though they did not attain
their end, had prepared the minds of the Ger-
mans for his elevation to the Imperial throne;
but what he relied on as a chief recommenda-
tion, was the fortunate situation of his heredi-
tary dominions in Germany, which served as a
natural barrier to the Empire against the en-
croachments of the Turkish power. The con-
quests, the abilities, and the ambition of Sultan
Selim II. had spread over Europe, at that time,
a general and well-founded alarm. By his vic-
tories over the Mamalukes, and the extirpation
of that gallant body of men, he had not only
added Egypt and Syria to his empire, but had
secured to it such a degree of internal tranquil-
lity, that he was ready to turn against Christen-
dom the whole force of his arms, which nothing
hitherto had been able to resist. The most ef-
fectual expedient for stopping the progress of
this torrent, seemed to be the election of an Em-
peror, possessed of extensive territories in that
country, where its first impression would be felt,
and who, besides, could combat this formidable
enemy with all the forces of a powerful monar-
chy, and with all the wealth furnished by the

mines of the new world, or the commerce of the Low Countries. These were the arguments by which Charles publicly supported his claim; and to men of integrity and reflection, they appeared to be not only plausible, but convincing. He did not, however, trust the success of his cause to these alone. Great sums of money were remitted from Spain; all the refinements and artifices of negotiation were employed; and a considerable body of troops kept on foot by the states of the Circle of Suabia, was secretly taken into his pay. The venal were gained by presents; the objections of the more scrupulous were answered or eluded; some feeble princes were threatened and over-awed⁶⁰.

BOOK I.

1519.

ON the other hand, Francis supported his claim with equal eagerness, and no less confidence of its being well founded. His emissaries contended that it was now high time to convince the Princes of the house of Austria that the Imperial crown was elective, and not hereditary; that other persons might aspire to an honour which their arrogance had come to regard as the property of their family; that it required a sovereign of mature judgment, and of approved abilities, to hold the reins of government in a coun-

Of Francis.

⁶⁰ Guic. lib. 13. 159. Sleidan, Hist. of the Reformat. 14. Struvii Corp. Hist. German. ii. 971. Not. 20.

BOOK I.

1519.

try where such unknown opinions concerning religion had been published, as had thrown the minds of men into an uncommon agitation, which threatened the most violent effects; that a young prince, without experience, and who had hitherto given no specimens of his genius for command, was no equal match for Selim, a monarch grown old in the art of war, and in the course of victory; whereas a King, who in his early youth had triumphed over the valour and discipline of the Swiss, till then reckoned invincible, would be an antagonist not unworthy the Conqueror of the East; that the fire and impetuosity of the French cavalry, added to the discipline and stability of the German infantry, would form an army so irresistible, that, instead of waiting the approach of the Ottoman forces, it might carry hostilities into the heart of their dominions; that the election of Charles would be inconsistent with a fundamental constitution, by which the person who holds the crown of Naples, is excluded from aspiring to the Imperial dignity; that his elevation to that honour would soon kindle a war in Italy, on account of his pretensions to the duchy of Milan, the effects of which could not fail of reaching the Empire, and might prove fatal to it⁶¹. But while his

⁶¹ Guic. lib. 13. 160. Sleid. p. 16. Geor. Sabini. de elect. Car. V. Historia apud Scardii. Script. Rer. German. vol. ii. p. 4.

ambassadors enlarged upon these and other to- Book I.
picks of the same kind, in all the courts of 1519,
Germany, Francis, sensible of the prejudices en-
tertained against him as a foreigner, unacquaint-
ed with the German language or manners, en-
deavoured to overcome these, and to gain the
favour of the princes by immense gifts, and by
infinite promises. As the expeditious method
of transmitting money, and the decent mode of
conveying a bribe by bills of exchange was then
little known, the French ambassadors travelled
with a train of horses loaded with treasure, an
equipage not very honourable for that Prince,
by whom they were employed, and infamous for
those to whom they were sent.⁶²

THE other European princes could not re- Views and
main indifferent spectators of a contest, the deci- interest of
sion of which so nearly affected them. Their other states
common interest ought naturally to have formed
a general combination, in order to disappoint
both competitors, and to prevent either of them
from obtaining such a pre-eminence in power
and dignity, as might prove dangerous to the
liberties of Europe. But the ideas with respect
to a proper distribution and balance of power
were so lately introduced into the system of Eu-
ropean policy, that they were not hitherto ob-

⁶² Mémoires du Marech. de Fleuranges, p. 296.

BOOK I. 1519. jects of sufficient attention. The passions of some princes, the want of foresight in others, and the fear of giving offence to the candidates hindered such a salutary union of the powers of Europe, and rendered them either totally negligent of the publick safety, or kept them from exerting themselves with vigour in its behalf.

Of the
Swiss.

THE Swiss Cantons, though they dreaded the elevation of either of the contending monarchs, and though they wished to have seen some prince whose dominions were less extensive, and whose power was more moderate, seated on the Imperial throne, were prompted, however, by their hatred of the French nation, to give an open preference to the pretensions of Charles, while they used their utmost influence to frustrate those of Francis ⁶³.

Of the Ve-
netians.

THE Venetians easily discerned, that it was the interest of their Republic to have both the rivals set aside; but their jealousy of the house of Austria, whose ambition and neighbourhood had been fatal to their grandeur, would not permit them to act up to their own ideas, and led them hastily to give the sanction of their approbation to the claim of the French King.

⁶³ Sabinus, p. 6.

It was equally the interest, and more in the Book I. power of Henry VIII. of England, to prevent 1519. either Francis or Charles from acquiring a dig-^{Of Henry.} nity which would raise them so far above other ^{VIII.} monarchs. But though Henry often boasted, that he held the balance of Europe in his hand, he had neither the steady attention, the accurate discernment, nor the dispassionate temper which that delicate function required. On this occasion it mortified his vanity so much, to see himself excluded from that noble competition which reflected such honour upon the two antagonists, that he took the resolution of sending an ambassador into Germany, and of declaring himself a candidate for the Imperial throne. The ambassador, though loaded with caresses by the German princes and the Pope's nuncio, informed his master, that he could hope for no success in a claim which he had been so late in preferring. Henry, imputing his disappointment to that circumstance alone, and soothed with this ostentatious display of his own importance, seems to have taken no farther part in the matter, either by contributing to thwart both his rivals, or to promote one of them.

LEO X. a pontiff no less renowned for his ^{of Leo X.} political abilities, than for his love of the arts,

⁶⁴ Mémoires de Fleuranges, 314. Herbert. Hist. of Henry VIII.

BOOK I. was the only prince of the age who observed the
1519. motions of the two contending monarchs with
a prudent attention, or who discovered a proper
solicitude for the publick safety. The Imperial
and Papal jurisdiction interfered in so many
instances, the complaints of usurpation were so
numerous on both sides, and the territories of
the church owed their security so little to their
own force, and so much to the weakness of the
powers around them, that nothing was so for-
midable to the court of Rome as an Emperor
with extensive dominions, or of enterprizing
genius. Leo trembled at the prospect of be-
holding the Imperial crown placed on the head
of the King of Spain and of Naples, and the
master of the new world; nor was he less afraid
of seeing a King of France, who was duke of
Milan and lord of Genoa, exalted to that dig-
nity. He foretold that the election of either of
them would be fatal to the independence of the
holy see, to the peace of Italy, and perhaps to
the liberties of Europe. But to oppose them
with any prospect of success, required address
and caution in proportion to the greatness of
their power, and their opportunities of taking
revenge. Leo was defective in neither. He
secretly exhorted the German princes to place
one of their own number on the Imperial throne,
which many of them were capable of filling

with honour. He put them in mind of the constitution by which the Kings of Naples were for ever excluded from that dignity⁶⁵. He warmly exhorted the French King to persist in his claim, not from any desire that he should gain his end; but as he foresaw that the Germans would be more disposed to favour the King of Spain, he hoped that Francis himself, when he discovered his own chance of success to be desperate, would be stimulated by resentment and the spirit of rivalry, to concur with all his interest in raising some third person to the head of the Empire; or, on the other hand, if Francis should make unexpected progress, he did not doubt but that Charles would be induced by similar motives to act the same part; and thus, by a prudent attention, the mutual jealousy of the two rivals might be so dexterously managed, as to disappoint both. But this scheme, the only one which a Prince in Leo's situation could adopt, though concerted with great wisdom, was executed with little discretion. The French ambassadors in Germany fed their master with vain hopes; the Pope's nuncio, being gained by them, altogether forgot the instructions which he had received; and Francis persevered so long and with such obstinacy in

⁶⁵ Goldasti Constitutiones Imperiales. Francof. 1673. vol. i. 439.

BOOK I. urging his own pretensions, as rendered all Leo's
1519. measures abortive."

The diet
assembles,
June 17th.

Views of the
Electors.

SUCH were the hopes of the candidates, and the views of the different princes, when the diet was opened according to form, at Frankfort. The right of chusing an Emperor had long been vested in seven great Princes, distinguished by the name of Electors, the origin of whose office, as well as the nature and extent of their powers, have already been explained. These were, at that time, Albert of Brandenburg, archbishop of Mentz; Herman count de Wied, archbishop of Cologne; Richard de Greiffenklaus, archbishop of Treves; Lewis, King of Bohemia; Lewis, count Palatin of the Rhine; Frederick, duke of Saxony; and Joachim I. marquis of Brandenburg. Notwithstanding the artful arguments produced by the ambassadors of the two Kings in favour of their respective masters, and in spite of all their solicitations, intrigues, and presents, the Electors did not forget that maxim on which the liberty of the German constitution was thought to be founded. Among the members of the Germanick body, which is a great republick composed of states almost independent, the first principle of patriotism is to depress and limit the power of the

"Guicciar. lib. 13. 161.

Emperor;

Emperor; and of this idea so natural under Book I.
 such a form of government, a German politician 1519.
 seldom loses sight. No prince of considerable
 power, or extensive dominions, had for some
 ages been raised to the Imperial throne. To
 this prudent precaution many of the great fami-
 lies in Germany owed the splendour and inde-
 pendence which they had acquired during that
 period. To elect either of the contending mo-
 narchs, would have been a gross violation of
 that salutary maxim; would have given to the
 Empire a master, instead of an head; and would
 have reduced themselves from the rank of equals,
 to the condition of subjects.

FULL of these ideas, all the electors turned Offer the
 their eyes towards Frederick, duke of Saxony, Imperial
 a Prince of such eminent virtue and abilities, crown to
 as to be distinguished by the name of the *Sage*, Frederick
 and with one voice they offered him the Im- of Saxony,
 perial crown. He was not dazzled with that
 object, which monarchs so far superior to him
 in power courted with such eagerness; and after
 deliberating upon the matter a short time, he
 rejected it with a magnanimity and disinterested-
 ness, no less singular than admirable. Nothing, who rejects
 he observed, could be more impolitick, than an it,
 obstinate adherence to a maxim which, though
 sound and just in many cases, was not applicable

BOOK I. to all. In times of tranquillity, said he, we
1519. wish for an Emperor who has not power to
invade our liberties; times of danger demand
one who is able to secure our safety. The
Turkish armies, led by a gallant and victorious
monarch, are now assembling. They are ready
to pour in upon Germany with a violence un-
known in former ages. New conjunctures call
for new expedients. The Imperial sceptre must
be committed to some hand more powerful than
mine, or that of any other German prince. We
possess neither dominions, nor revenues, nor
authority which enable us to encounter such a
formidable enemy. Recourse must be had in
this exigency to one of the rival monarchs. Each
of them can bring into the field forces sufficient
for our defence. But as the King of Spain is
of German extraction; as he is a member and
prince of the empire by the territories which
descend to him from his grandfather; as his
dominions stretch along that frontier which lies
most exposed to the enemy; his claim is pre-
ferable, in my opinion, to that of a stranger to
our language, to our blood, and to our country;
and therefore I give my vote to confer on him
the Imperial crown.

THIS opinion, dictated by such uncommon
generosity, and supported by arguments so plau-

sible, made a deep impression on the Electors. BOOK I.
 The King of Spain's ambassadors, sensible of 1519.
 the important service which Frederick had done and refuses
 their master, sent him a considerable sum of any present
 money, as the first token of that Prince's grati- from
 tude. But he who had greatness of mind to Charles's
 refuse a crown, disdained to receive a bribe; ambassa-
 and upon their entreating that, at least, he would dors.
 permit them to distribute part of that sum
 among his courtiers, he replied: That he could
 not prevent them from accepting what should
 be offered, but whoever took a single florin
 should be dismissed next morning from his
 service ⁶⁷.

⁶⁷ P. Daniel, an historian of considerable name, seems to
 call in question the truth of this account of Frederick's be-
 haviour in refusing the Imperial crown, because it is not men-
 tioned by Georgius Sabinus in his History of the election
 and coronation of Charles V. tom. iii. p. 63. But no great
 stress ought to be laid on an omission in a superficial author,
 whose treatise, though dignified with the name of History,
 contains only such an account of the ceremonial of Charles's
 election, as is usually published in Germany on like occa-
 sions. Scard. Rer. Germ. Script. v. 2. p. 1. The testimony
 of Erasmus, lib. 13. epist. 4. and that of Sleidan, p. 18. are
 express. Seckendorf in his Commentarius Historicus & A-
 pologeticus de Lutheranism, p. 121. has examined this fact
 with his usual industry, and has established its truth by the
 most undoubted evidence. To these testimonies which he
 has collected, I may add the decisive one of cardinal Caje-
 tan, the Pope's legate at Frankfort, in his letter July 5th,
 1519. Epistres aux Princes, &c. recueillies par Ruscelli, tra-
 duites par Belforest. Par. 1572. p. 60.

BOOK I. No prince in Germany could now aspire to a

1519. dignity, which Frederick had declined for reasons applicable to them all. It remained to make a choice between the two great competitors. But besides the prejudice in Charles's favour arising from his birth, as well as the situation of his German dominions, he owed not a little to the abilities of the cardinal de Gurk, and the zeal of Erard de la Mark, bishop of Liege, two of his ambassadors, who had conducted their negotiations with more prudence and address than those entrusted by the French King. The former, who had long been the minister and favourite of Maximilian, was well acquainted with the art of managing the Germans; and the latter having been disappointed of a cardinal's hat by Francis, employed all the malicious ingenuity with which the desire of revenge inspires an ambitious mind, in thwarting the measures of that monarch. The Spanish party among the Electors daily gained ground; and even the Pope's nuncio, being convinced that it was vain to make any farther opposition, endeavoured to acquire some merit with the future Emperor, by offering voluntarily, in the name of his master, a dispensation to hold the Imperial crown in conjunction with that of Naples ⁶⁸.

⁶⁸ Freheri Rer. German. Scriptores, vol. iii. 172. cur. Struvii, Argent. 1717. Gianone Hist. of Naples, 2. 498.

ON the twenty eighth of June, five months and ten days after the death of Maximilian, this important contest, which had held all Europe in suspense, was decided. Six of the Electors had already declared for the King of Spain; and the archbishop of Treves, the only firm adherent to the French interest, having at last joined his brethren, Charles was by the unanimous voice of the Electoral college raised to the Imperial throne ⁶⁹.

BOOK I.

1519.

They chuse Charles Emperor.

BUT though the electors consented, from various motives, to promote Charles to that high station, they discovered at the same time great jealousy of his extraordinary power, and endeavoured, with the utmost solicitude, to provide against his encroaching on the privileges of the Germanick body. It had long been the custom to demand of every new Emperor a confirmation of these privileges, and to require a promise that he would never violate them in any instance. While princes, who were formidable neither from extent of territory, nor of genius, possessed the Imperial throne, a general and verbal engagement to this purpose was deemed sufficient security. But under an Emperor so powerful as Charles, other precautions

They are apprehensive of his power, and take precautions against it.

⁶⁹ Jac. Aug. Thuan. Hist. sui Temporis. Edit. Bulkley, lib. 1. c. 9.

BOOK I. 1519. seemed necessary. A *Capitulation* or claim of right was formed, in which the privileges and immunities of the Electors, of the princes of the Empire, of the cities, and of every other member of the Germanick body are enumerated. This capitulation was immediately signed by Charles's ambassadors in the name of their master, and he himself at his coronation confirmed it in the most solemn manner. Since that period, the Electors have continued to prescribe the same conditions to all his successors; and the Capitulation or mutual contract between the Emperor and his subjects, is considered in Germany, as a strong barrier against the progress of the Imperial power, and as the great charter of their liberties to which they often appeal ⁷⁰.

The election notified to Charles.

THE important intelligence of his election was conveyed in nine days from Frankfort to Barcelona, where Charles was still detained by the obstinacy of the Catalonian Cortes, which had not hitherto brought to an issue any of the affairs which came before it. He received the account with the joy natural to a young and aspiring mind, on an accession of power and dignity which raised him so far above the other

⁷⁰ Pfeffel Abrégé de l'Hist. du Droit Publique d'Allemagne, 590. Linnei Capitulat. Imper. Epistres des Princes par Ruscelli, p. 60.

princes of Europe. Then it was that those vast prospects which allured him during his whole administration began to open, and from this æra we may date the formation, and are able to trace the gradual progress of a grand system of enterprizing ambition, which renders the history of his reign so worthy of attention. Book I.
1519.

A TRIVIAL circumstance first discovered the effects of this great elevation upon the mind of Charles. In all the publick writs which he issued as King of Spain, he assumed the title of *Majesty*, and required it from his subjects as a mark of their respect. Before that time, all the monarchs of Europe were satisfied with the appellation of *Highness*, or *Grace*; but the vanity of other courts soon led them to imitate the example of the Spanish. The epithet of Majesty is no longer a mark of pre-eminence. The most inconsiderable monarchs in Europe enjoy it, and the arrogance of the greater potentates has invented no higher denomination ⁷¹. Its effect
upon him.

THE Spaniards were far from viewing the promotion of their King to the Imperial throne with the same satisfaction which he himself felt. To be deprived of the presence of their fove- The Spaniards dis-
satisfied
with this
event.

⁷¹ Miniana, Contin. Mar. p. 13. Ferreras, viii. 475.
Mémoires Hist. de la Houssaie, tom. i. p. 53, &c.

BOOK I. reign, and to be subjected to the government
 1519. of a viceroy and his council, a species of administration often oppressive, and always disagreeable, were the immediate and necessary consequences of this new dignity. To see the blood of their countrymen shed in quarrels wherein the nation had no concern; to behold its treasures wasted in supporting the splendour of a foreign title; to be plunged in the chaos of Italian and German politics, were effects of this event almost as unavoidable. From all these considerations, they concluded, that nothing could have happened more pernicious to the Spanish nation; and the fortitude and publick spirit of their ancestors, who, in the Cortes of Castile, prohibited Alphonzo the Wise from leaving the kingdom, in order to receive the Imperial crown, were often mentioned with the highest praise, and pronounced to be extremely worthy of imitation at this juncture ⁷².

November. BUT Charles, without regarding the sentiments or murmurs of his Spanish subjects, accepted of the Imperial dignity which the count Palatine, at the head of a solemn embassy, offered him in the name of the Electors; and declared his intention of setting out soon for Germany, in order to take possession of it.

⁷² Sandoval, i. p. 32. Miniana, Contin. p. 14.

This was the more necessary, because, according to the forms of the German constitution, he could not, before the ceremony of a public coronation, exercise any act of jurisdiction or authority⁷³.

Book I.
1519.

THEIR certain knowledge of this resolution augmented so much the disgust of the Spaniards, that a fullen and refractory spirit prevailed among persons of all ranks. The Pope having granted the King the tenths of all ecclesiastical benefices in Castile to assist him in carrying on war with greater vigour against the Turks, a convocation of the clergy unanimously refused to levy that sum, upon pretence that it ought never to be exacted but at those times when Christendom was actually invaded by the Infidels; and though Leo, in order to support his authority, laid the kingdom under an interdict, so little regard was paid to a censure which was universally deemed unjust, that Charles himself applied to have it taken off. Thus the Spanish clergy, besides their merit in opposing the usurpations of the Pope, and disregarding the influence of the crown, gained the exemption which they had claimed⁷⁴.

Their discontent increases.

⁷³ Sabinus. P. Barre, viii. 1085.
462. Ferreras, viii. 473.

⁷⁴ P. Martyr. Ep.

BOOK I.

1519.

An insur-
rection in
Valencia.

THE commotions which arose in the kingdom of Valencia, annexed to the crown of Aragon, were more formidable, and produced more dangerous and lasting effects. A feditious monk having by his sermons excited the citizens of Valencia, the capital city, to take arms, and to punish certain criminals in a tumultuary manner, the people, pleased with this exercise of power, and with such a discovery of their own importance, not only refused to lay down their arms, but formed themselves into troops and companies that they might be regularly trained to martial exercises. To obtain some security against the oppression of the grandees was the motive of this association, and proved a powerful bond of union; for as the aristocratical privileges and independence were more complete in Valencia than in any other of the Spanish kingdoms, the nobles, being scarcely accountable for their conduct to any superior, treated the people not only as vassals but as slaves. They were alarmed, however, at the progress of this unexpected insurrection, as it might encourage the people to attempt shaking off the yoke altogether; but as they could not repress them without taking arms, it became necessary to have recourse to the Emperor, and to desire his permission to attack them. At the same time

1520.

Its progress.

the people made choice of deputies to represent their grievances, and to implore the protection of their sovereign. Happily for the latter, they arrived at court when Charles was exasperated to an high degree against the nobility. As he was eager to visit Germany, where his presence became every day more necessary, and as his Flemish courtiers were still more impatient to return into their native country, that they might carry thither the spoils which they had amassed in Castile, it was impossible for him to hold the Cortes of Valencia in person. He had for that reason empowered the cardinal Adrian to represent him in that Assembly, and in his name to receive their oath of allegiance, to confirm their privileges with the usual solemnities, and to demand of them a free gift. But the Valencian nobles, who considered this measure as an indignity to their country, which was no less entitled, than his other kingdoms, to the honour of their sovereign's presence, declared that by the fundamental laws of the constitution they could neither acknowledge as King a person who was absent, nor grant him any subsidy, and to this declaration they adhered with an haughty and inflexible obstinacy. Charles, piqued by their behaviour, decided in favour of the people, and rashly authorized them to continue in arms. Their deputies returned in triumph, and were

BOOK I. received by their fellow-citizens as the deliverers
 1520. of their country. The insolence of the multitude increasing with their success, they expelled all the nobles out of the city, committed the government to magistrates of their own election, and entered into an association distinguished by the name of *Hermidad* or *Brotherhood*, which proved the source not only of the wildest disorders, but of the most fatal calamities in that kingdom⁷⁵.

The Cortes
 of Castile
 summoned
 to meet in
 Galicia.

MEANWHILE, the kingdom of Castile was agitated with no less violence. No sooner was the Emperor's intention to leave Spain made known, than several cities of the first rank resolved to remonstrate against it, and to crave redress once more of those grievances which they had formerly laid before him. Charles artfully avoided admitting their deputies to audience; and as he saw from this circumstance, how difficult it would be at this juncture to restrain the mutinous spirit of the greater cities, he summoned the Cortes of Castile to meet at Compostella, a town in Galicia. His only reason for calling that assembly, was the hope of obtaining another donative; for as his treasury had been exhausted in the same proportion that the riches of his ministers increased, he could not, without

⁷⁵ P. Martyr, Ep. 651. Ferreras, viii. 476. 485.

some additional aid, appear in Germany with splendour suited to the Imperial dignity. To appoint a meeting of the Cortes in so remote a province, and to demand a new subsidy before the time for paying the former was expired, were innovations of a most dangerous tendency; and among people not only jealous of their liberties, but accustomed to supply the wants of their sovereigns with a very frugal hand, excited an universal alarm. The magistrates of Toledo remonstrated against both these measures in a very high tone; the inhabitants of Valladolid, who expected that the Cortes should have been held in that city, were so enraged that they took arms in a tumultuary manner; and if Charles with his foreign counsellors had not fortunately made their escape during a violent tempest, they would have massacred all the Flemings, and have prevented him from continuing his journey towards Compostella.

EVERY city through which they passed, petitioned against holding a Cortes in Galicia, a point with regard to which Charles was inflexible. But though the utmost influence had been exerted by the ministers, in order to procure a choice of representatives favourable to their designs, such was the temper of the nation, that, at the opening of the assembly, there appeared

The proceedings of that assembly.

April 1.

BOOK I. among many of the members unusual symptoms
 1520. of ill-humour, which threatened a fierce opposition to all the measures of the court. No representatives were sent by Toledo; for the lot, according to which, by ancient custom, the election was determined in that city, having fallen upon two persons, devoted to the Flemish ministers, their fellow-citizens refused to grant them a commission in the usual form, and in their stead made choice of two deputies, whom they empowered to repair to Compostella, and to protest against the lawfulness of the Cortes assembled there. The representatives of Salamanca refused to take the usual oath of fidelity, unless Charles consented to change the place of meeting. Those of Toro, Madrid, Cordova, and several other places, declared the demand of another donative to be unprecedented, unconstitutional, and unnecessary. All the arts, however, which influence popular assemblies, bribes, promises, threats, and even force, were employed in order to gain members. The nobles, soothed by the respectful assiduity with which Chievres and the other Flemings payed court to them, or instigated by a mean jealousy of that spirit of independence which they saw rising among the commons, openly favoured the pretensions of the court, or at the utmost did not oppose them; and at last, in contempt

The disaffection of the Castilians increases.

not only of the sentiments of the nation, but of the ancient forms of the constitution, a majority voted to grant the donative for which the Emperor had applied⁷⁶. Together with this grant, the Cortes laid before Charles a representation of those grievances whereof his people craved redress; but he, having obtained from them all that he could expect, paid no attention to this ill-timed petition, which it was no longer dangerous to disregard⁷⁷.

Book I.
1520.

As nothing now retarded his embarkation, he disclosed his intention with regard to the regency of Castile during his absence, which he had hitherto kept secret, and nominated cardinal Adrian to that office. The viceroyalty of Aragon he conferred on Don John de Lanuza; that of Valencia on Don Diego de Mendoza Conde de Melito. The choice of the two latter was universally acceptable; but the advancement of Adrian, though the only Fleming who had preserved any reputation among the Spaniards, animated the Castilians with new hatred against foreigners; and even the nobles, who had so tamely suffered other inroads upon the constitution, felt the indignity offered to their own order by his promotion, and remonstrated

Charles appoints regents during his absence,

⁷⁶ P. Martyr, Ep. 663, Sandoval, p. 32, &c.

⁷⁷ Sandoval, 84.

BOOK I. against it as illegal. But Charles's desire of
 1520. visiting Germany, as well as the impatience of
 his ministers to leave Spain, were now so much
 increased, that without regarding the murmurs
 of the Castilians, or even taking time to provide
 any remedy against an insurrection in Toledo,
 which at that time threatened, and afterwards
 produced most formidable effects, he sailed from
 Corogna on the twenty-second of May; and by
 setting out so abruptly in quest of a new crown,
 he endangered a more important one of which
 he was already in possession⁷⁸.

and embarks
 for the Low
 Countries,

⁷⁸ P. Martyr, Ep. 670. Sandov. 86.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN

OF THE

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK II.

MANY concurring circumstances not only Book II.
called Charles's thoughts towards the af- 1520.
fairs of Germany, but rendered his presence in Charles's
that country necessary. The electors grew im- presence in
patient of so long an interregnum; his heredi- Germany
tary dominions were disturbed by intestine com- necessary.
motions; and the new opinions concerning re-
ligion made such rapid progress as required the
most serious consideration. But above all, the
motions of the French King drew his attention,
and convinced him that it was necessary to take
measures for his own defence, with no less speed
than vigour.

BOOK II.

1520.

Rise and
progress of
the rivalry
between
Charles and
Francis I.

WHEN Charles and Francis entered the lists as candidates for the Imperial dignity, they conducted their rivalry with many professions of regard for each other, and with repeated declarations that they would not suffer any tincture of enmity to mingle itself with this honourable emulation, "We both court the same mistress," said Francis, with his usual vivacity, "each ought to urge his suit with all the address of which he is master; the most fortunate will prevail, and the other must rest contented¹." But though two young and high-spirited Princes, and each of them animated with the hope of success, might be capable of forming such a generous resolution, it was soon found that they promised upon a moderation too refined and disinterested for human nature. The preference given to Charles in the sight of all Europe, mortified Francis to the highest degree, and inspired him with all the passions natural to disappointed ambition. To this was owing the personal jealousy and rivalry which subsisted between the two monarchs during their whole reign; and the rancour of these, augmented by a real opposition of interest, which gave rise to many unavoidable causes of discord, involved them in almost perpetual hostilities. Charles had paid no regard to the principal article in

¹ Guic. lib. 13. p. 159.

the treaty of Noyon, by refusing oftener than once to do justice to John d'Albert, the excluded monarch of Navarre, whom Francis was bound in honour, and prompted by interest, to restore to his throne. The French King had pretensions to the crown of Naples, of which Ferdinand had deprived his predecessor by a most unjustifiable breach of faith. The Emperor might reclaim the dutchy of Milan as a fief of the Empire, which Francis had seized, and still kept in possession, without having received investiture. Charles considered the dutchy of Burgundy as the patrimonial domain of his ancestors wrested from them by the unjust policy of Louis XI. and observed with the greatest jealousy the strict connections which Francis had formed with the duke of Gueldres, the hereditary enemy of his family.

WHEN the sources of discord were so many and various, peace could be of no long continuance, even between princes the most exempt from ambition or emulation. But as the shock between two such mighty antagonists could not fail of being extremely violent, they both discovered no small sollicitude about its consequences, and took time not only to collect and to ponder their own strength, and to compare it with that of their adversary, but to

Their deliberations previous to the commencement of hostilities.

BOOK. II. secure the friendship or assistance of the other
1520. European powers.

They nego-
ciate with
the Pope.

THE Pope had equal reason to dread the two rivals, and saw that he who prevailed, would become absolute master in Italy. If it had been in his power to engage them in hostilities, without rendering Lombardy the theatre of war, nothing would have been more agreeable to him than to see them waste each other's strength in endless quarrels. But this was impossible. Leo foresaw, that, on the first rupture between the two monarchs, the armies of France and Spain would take the field in the Milanese; and while the scene of their operations was so near, and the subject for which they contended so interesting to him, he could not long remain neuter. He was obliged, therefore, to adapt his plan of conduct to his political situation. He courted and soothed the Emperor and King of France with equal industry and address. Though warmly solicited by each of them to espouse his cause, he assumed all the appearances of entire impartiality, and attempted to conceal his real sentiments under that profound dissimulation which seems to have been affected by most of the Italian politicians in that age.

With the
Venetians.

THE views and interest of the Venetians were not different from those of the Pope; nor were

they less solicitous to prevent Italy from becoming the seat of war, and their own republick from being involved in the quarrel. But through all Leo's artifices, and notwithstanding his high pretensions to a perfect neutrality, it was visible that he leaned towards the Emperor, from whom he had both more to fear and more to hope than from Francis, and it was equally manifest, that if it became necessary to take a side, the Venetians would, from motives of the same nature, declare for the King of France. No considerable assistance, however, was to be expected from the Italian states, who were jealous to an extreme degree of the Transalpine powers, and careful to preserve the balance between them, unless when they were seduced to violate this favourite maxim of their policy, by the certain prospect of some great advantage to themselves.

BOOK. II.

1520.

BUT the chief attention both of Charles and Francis, was employed in order to gain the King of England, from whom each of them expected assistance more effectual, and afforded with less political caution. Henry VIII. had ascended the throne of that kingdom in the year one thousand five hundred and nine, with such circumstances of advantage, as promised a reign of distinguished felicity and splendour. The union in his person of the two contending titles of

With Henry VIII.

The great power of that monarch.

BOOK II. York and Lancaster; the alacrity and emulation
1520. with which both factions obeyed his commands not only enabled him to exert a degree of vigour and authority in his domestic government which none of his predecessors could have safely assumed; but permitted him to take a share in the affairs of the continent, from which the attention of the English had long been diverted by their unhappy divisions. The immense treasures which his father had amassed, rendered him the most wealthy Prince in Europe. The peace which had subsisted under the cautious administration of that monarch, was of sufficient length to recruit the nation after the desolation of the civil wars, but not so long as to enervate its spirit; and the English, ashamed of having rendered their own country so long a scene of discord and bloodshed, were eager to display their valour in some foreign war, and to revive the memory of the victories gained by their ancestors.

His charac- Henry's own temper perfectly suited the state of
ter. his kingdom, and the disposition of his subjects. Ambitious, active, enterprizing and accomplished in all the martial exercises which in that age formed a chief part in the education of persons of noble birth, and inspired them with an early love of war, he longed to engage in action, and to signalize the beginning of his reign by some remarkable exploit. An opportunity soon

presented itself ; and the victory at Guinegate, together with the successful sieges of Teroüenne and Tournay , though of little utility to England, reflected great lustre on its monarch , and confirmed the idea which foreign princes entertained of his power and importance. So many concurring causes, added to the happy situation of his own dominions, which secured them from foreign invasion ; and to the fortunate circumstance of his being in possession of Calais, which served not only as a key to France, but opened an easy passage into the Netherlands, rendered the King of England the natural guardian of the liberties of Europe, and the arbiter between the Emperor and French monarch. Henry himself was sensible of this singular advantage, and convinced, that, in order to preserve the balance even, it was his office to prevent either of the rivals from acquiring such superiority of power as might be fatal to the other, or formidable to the rest of Christendom. But he was destitute of the penetration, and still more of the temper, which such a delicate function required. Influenced by caprice, by vanity, by repentment, by affection, he was incapable of forming any regular and extensive system of policy, or of adhering to it with steadiness. His measures seldom resulted from attention to the general welfare, or from a deliberate regard to his own interest, but

BOOK II.

1520.

BOOK II. were dictated by passions which rendered him
 1520. blind to both, and prevented his gaining that
 ascendant in the affairs of Europe, or from
 reaping such advantages to himself, as a Prince
 of greater art, though with inferior talents,
 might have easily secured.

And of his
 minister
 cardinal
 Wolsey.

ALL the impolitick steps in Henry's administra-
 tion must not, however, be imputed to de-
 fects in his own character; many of them were
 owing to the violent passions and insatiable am-
 bition of his prime minister and favourite, card-
 inal Wolsey. This man, from one of the lowest
 ranks in life, had risen to an height of power
 and dignity, to which no English subject ever
 arrived; and governed the haughty, presump-
 tuous, and untractable spirit of Henry with
 absolute authority. Great talents, and of very
 different kinds, fitted him for the two opposite
 stations of minister, and of favourite. His pro-
 found judgment, his unwearied industry, his
 thorough acquaintance with the state of the
 kingdom, his extensive knowledge of the views
 and interests of foreign courts, qualified him for
 that uncontrouled direction of affairs with which
 he was intrusted. The elegance of his manners,
 the gaiety of his conversation, his insinuating
 address, his love of magnificence, and his pro-
 ficiency in those parts of literature of which

Henry was fond, gained him the affection and confidence of the young monarch. Wolsey was far from employing this vast and almost royal power, to promote either the true interest of the nation, or the real grandeur of his master. Rapacious at the same time, and profuse, he was insatiable in desiring wealth. Of boundless ambition, he aspired after new honours with an eagerness unabated by his former success; and being rendered presumptuous by his uncommon elevation, as well as by the ascendant which he had gained over a Prince, who scarcely brooked advice from any other person, he discovered in his whole demeanour the most overbearing haughtiness and pride. To these passions he himself sacrificed every consideration; and whoever endeavoured to obtain his favour, or that of his master, found it necessary to fawn and to gratify them.

BOOK II.

1520.

As all the states of Europe sought Henry's friendship at that time, all courted his minister with incredible attention and obsequiousness, and strove by presents, by promises, or by flattery, to work upon his avarice, his ambition, or his pride². Francis had, in the year one thousand five hundred and eighteen, employed Bonnivet,

The court paid to Wolsey by Francis,

² Fiddle's Life of Wolsey, 166. Rymer's Foedera, xiii. 718.

BOOK II. 1520. admiral of France, one of his most accomplished and artful courtiers, to gain the haughty prelate. He himself bestowed on him every mark of respect and confidence. He consulted him with regard to his most important affairs, and received his responses with implicit deference. By these arts, together with the grant of a large pension, Francis secured the Cardinal, who persuaded his master to surrender Tournay to France, to conclude a treaty of marriage between his daughter the Princess Mary and the Dauphin, and to consent to a personal interview with the French King³. From that time, the most familiar intercourse subsisted between the two courts; Francis, sensible of the great value of Wolsey's friendship, laboured to secure the continuance of it by every possible expression of regard, bestowing on him in all his letters the honourable appellations of Father, Tutor, and Governor.

And by Charles. CHARLES observed the progress of this union with the utmost jealousy and concern. His near affinity to the King of England, gave him some title to his friendship; and soon after his accession to the throne of Castile, he had attempted to ingratiate himself with Wolsey, by settling on him a pension of three thousand livres. His

³ Herbert's Hist. of Henry VIII. 30. Rymer, xiii. 624.

chief solicitude at present was to prevent the intended interview with Francis, the effects of which upon two young Princes, whose hearts were no less susceptible of friendship than their manners were capable of inspiring it, he extremely dreaded. But after many delays, occasioned by difficulties about the ceremonial, and by the anxious precautions of both courts for the safety of their respective sovereigns, the time and place of meeting were at last fixed. Messengers had been sent to different courts, inviting all comers, who were gentlemen, to enter the lists at tilt and tournament, against the two monarchs and their knights. Both Francis and Henry loved the splendour of these spectacles too well, and were too much delighted with the graceful figure which they made on such occasions, to forego the pleasure or glory which they expected from such a singular and brilliant assembly. Nor was the Cardinal less fond of displaying his magnificence in the presence of two courts, and of discovering to the two nations the extent of his influence over both their monarchs. Charles, finding it impossible to prevent the interview, endeavoured to disappoint its effects, and to pre-occupy the favour of the English monarch, and his minister, by an act of complaisance still more flattering and more uncommon. Having sailed from Corunna, as has already been related,

BOOK II.

1520.

BOOK II. he steered his course directly towards England, and relying wholly on Henry's generosity for his own safety, landed at Dover. This unexpected visit surprised the nation. Wolsey, however, was well acquainted with the Emperor's intention. A negociation, unknown to the historians of that age, had been carried on between him and the court of Spain; this visit had been concerted; and Charles granted the Cardinal, whom he calls his *most dear friend*, an additional pension of seven thousand ducats *. Henry, who was then at Canterbury, in his way to France, immediately dispatched Wolsey to Dover, in order to welcome the Emperor; and being highly pleased with an event so soothing to his vanity, hastened to receive, with suitable respect, a guest who had placed in him such unbounded confidence. Charles, to whom time was precious, staid only four days in England: But during that short space, he had the address not only to give Henry favourable impressions of his character and intentions, but to detach Wolsey entirely from the interest of the French King. All the grandeur, wealth, and power which the Cardinal possessed, did not satisfy his ambitious mind, while there was one step higher to which an ecclesiastick could ascend. The papal dignity had for some time been the object of his wishes, and Francis, as the most effectual method of

1520.
Charles
visits Eng-
land,
May 26th.

Insinuates
himself into
favour both
with the
King and
Wolsey.

* Rymer, xiii. 714.

securing his friendship, had promised to favour his pretensions, on the first vacancy, with all his interest. But as the Emperor's influence in the college of cardinals was greatly superior to the French King's, Wolsey grasped eagerly at an offer which that artful Prince had made him of exerting it vigorously in his behalf; and allured by this prospect, which under the pontificate of Leo, still in the prime of his life, was a very distant one, he entered with warmth into all the Emperor's schemes. No treaty, however, was concluded at that time between the two monarchs; but Henry, in return for the honour which Charles had done him, promised to visit him in some place of the Low Countries, immediately after taking leave of the French King.

His interview with that Prince was in an open plain between Guisnes and Ardres, where the two Kings and their attendants displayed their magnificence with such emulation, and profuse expence, as procured it the name of the *Field of the Cloth of Gold*. Feats of chivalry, parties of gallantry, together with such exercises and pastimes as were in that age reckoned manly or elegant, rather than serious business, occupied both courts during eighteen days that they con-

BOOK II.
1520.

June 7th.
Interview
between
Henry and
Francis.

BOOK II. continued together'. Whatever impression the en-
 1520. gaging manners of Francis, or the liberal and
 unfuspicious confidence with which he treated
 Henry, made on the mind of that monarch,
 was soon effaced by Wolsey's artifices, or by
 an interview he had with the Emperor at Gra-
 July 10. velines; which was conducted by Charles with
 less pomp than that near Guisnes, but with greater
 attention to his political interest.

Henry's
 ideas of his
 own im-
 portance.

THIS assiduity with which the two greatest
 monarchs in Europe paid court to Henry, ap-

' The French and English historians describe the pomp
 of this interview, and the various spectacles, with great
 minuteness. One circumstance mentioned by the marechal
 de Fleuranges, who was present, and which appears singular
 in the present age, is commonly omitted. "After the
 tournament," says he, "the French and English wrestlers
 made their appearance, and wrestled in presence of the
 Kings, and the ladies; and as there were many stout wrest-
 lers there, it afforded excellent pastime; but as the King
 of France had neglected to bring any wrestlers out of Bre-
 tagne, the English gained the prize. — After this, the
 Kings of France and England retired to a tent, where they
 drank together, and the King of England seizing the King
 of France by the collar, said, "*My brother, I must wrestle
 with you,*" and endeavoured once or twice to trip up his
 heels; but the King of France, who is a dexterous wrestler,
 twisted him round, and threw him on the earth with pro-
 digious violence. The King of England wanted to renew
 the combat, but was prevented." *Mémoires de Fleuranges*,
 12°. Paris, 1753. p. 329.

peared to him a plain acknowledgment that he held the balance in his hands, and convinced him of the justness of the motto which he had chosen, "That whoever he favoured would prevail." In this opinion he was confirmed by an offer which Charles made of submitting any difference that might arise between him and Francis to his sole arbitration. Nothing could have the appearance of greater candour and moderation, than the choice of a judge who was reckoned the common friend of both. But as the Emperor had now attached Wolsey entirely to his interest, no proposal could be more insidious, nor, as appeared by the sequel, more fatal to the French King ⁶.

Book II.
1520.

CHARLES, notwithstanding his partial fondness for the Netherlands, the place of his nativity, made no long stay there; and after receiving the homage and congratulations of his countrymen, hastened to Aix-la-Chapelle, the place appointed by the golden bull for the coronation of the Emperor. There, in presence of an assembly more numerous and splendid than had appeared on any former occasion, the crown of Charlemagne was placed on his head, with all the pompous solemnity which the Germans affect in their publick ceremonies, and which

Coronation
of the Em-
peror.

October 23.

⁶ Herbert, 37.

BOOK II. they deem essential to the dignity of their
1520. Empire ⁷.

Solyman the
Magnificent
ascends the
Ottoman
throne.

ALMOST at the same time, Solyman the Magnificent, one of the most accomplished, enterprising, and victorious of the Turkish Princes, a constant and formidable rival to the Emperor, ascended the Ottoman throne. It was the peculiar glory of that period to produce the most illustrious monarchs, who have at any one time appeared in Europe. Leo, Charles, Francis, Henry and Solyman were each of them possessed of talents which would have rendered any age wherein they happened to flourish, conspicuous. But such a constellation of great princes shed uncommon lustre on the sixteenth century. In every contest, great power as well as great abilities were set in opposition; the efforts of valour and conduct on one side, counterbalanced by an equal exertion of the same qualities on the other, not only occasioned such a variety of events as renders the history of that period interesting, but served to check the exorbitant progress of any of those princes, and to prevent their attaining such pre-eminence in power as would have been fatal to the liberty and happiness of mankind.

⁷ Hartman. Mauri Relatio Coronat. Car. V. ap. Goldast. Polit. Imperial. Franc. 1614. fol. p. 264.

THE first act of the Emperor's administration was to appoint a Diet of the Empire to be held at Worms on the sixth of January, one thousand five hundred and twenty-one. In his circular letters to the different princes, he informed them, that he had called this assembly in order to concert with them the most proper measures for checking the progress of those new and dangerous opinions, which threatened to disturb the peace of Germany, and to overturn the religion of their ancestors.

BOOK II.

1520.

Diet called
to meet at
Worms.

CHARLES had in view the opinions which had been propagated by Luther and his disciples since the year one thousand five hundred and seventeen. As these led to that happy reformation in religion which rescued one part of Europe from the papal yoke, mitigated its rigour in the other, and produced a revolution in the sentiments of mankind, the greatest as well as the most beneficial that has happened since the publication of Christianity, not only the events which at first gave birth to such opinions, but the causes which rendered their progress so rapid and successful, deserve to be considered with minute attention.

Rise of the
Reforma-
tion;

To overturn a system of religious belief founded on ancient and deep-rooted prejudices,

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I

BOOK II.

1520.

supported by power, and defended with no less art than industry; to establish in its room doctrines of the most contrary genius and tendency; and to accomplish all this, not by external violence or the force of arms, are operations which historians the least prone to credulity and superstition, must ascribe to that Divine Providence which, with infinite ease, can bring about events which to human sagacity appear impossible. The interposition of Heaven in favour of the Christian religion at its first publication, was manifested by miracles and prophecies wrought and uttered in confirmation of it: And though none of the reformers possessed, or pretended to possess, these supernatural gifts, yet that wonderful preparation of circumstances which disposed the minds of men for receiving their doctrines, that singular combination of causes which secured their success, and enabled men, destitute of power and of policy, to triumph over those who employed both against them, may be considered as no slight proof that the same hand which planted the Christian religion, protected the reformed faith, and reared it, from beginnings extremely feeble, to an amazing degree of strength and maturity.

From incon-
siderable be-
ginnings,

It was from causes, seemingly fortuitous, and from a source very inconsiderable, that all

the mighty effects of the Reformation flowed. Leo X. when raised to the papal throne, found the revenues of the church exhausted by the vast projects of his two ambitious predecessors, Alexander VI. and Julius II. His own temper, naturally liberal and enterprizing rendered him incapable of that severe and patient œconomy which the situation of his finances required. On the contrary, his schemes for aggrandizing the family of Medici, his love of splendour, his taste for pleasure, and his magnificence in rewarding men of genius, involved him daily in new expences; in order to provide a fund for which, he tried every device, that the fertile invention of priests had fallen upon, to drain the credulous multitude. Among others, he had recourse to a sale of *Indulgences*. According to the doctrine of the Romish church, all the good works of the Saints, over and above those which were necessary towards their own justification, are deposited, together with the infinite merits of Jesus Christ, in one inexhaustible treasury. The keys of this were committed to St. Peter and to his successors the Popes, who may open it at pleasure, and by transferring a portion of this superabundant merit to any particular person, for a sum of money, may convey to him either the pardon of his own sins, or a release for any one in whom he is interested, from the

BOOK II.

1520.

A sale of
indulgences
published
by Leo X.

BOOK II. pains of purgatory. Such indulgences were
 1520. first invented in the eleventh century by Urban II. as a recompense for those who went in person upon the meritorious enterprize of conquering the Holy Land. They were afterwards granted to those who hired a foldier for that purpose; and in process of time were bestowed on such as gave money for accomplishing any pious work enjoined by the Pope *. Julius II. had bestowed Indulgences on all who contributed towards building the church of St. Peter at Rome; and as Leo was carrying on that magnificent and expensive fabrick, his grant was founded on the same pretence †.

So conducted as to give general offence.

THE right of promulgating these Indulgences in Germany, together with a share in the profits arising from the sale of them, was granted to Albert, elector of Mentz and archbishop of Magdeburgh, who, as his chief agent for retailing them in Saxony, employed Tetzels, a Dominican friar, of licentious morals, but of an active spirit, and remarkable for his noisy and popular eloquence. He, assisted by the monks of his order, executed the commission with great zeal and success, but with little discretion or decency; and though by magnifying excess-

* History of the Council of Trent, by F. Paul, p. 4.

† Palavic. Hist. Conc. Trident. p. 4.

fively the benefit of their indulgences ¹⁰, and by disposing of them at a very low price, they carried on for some time an extensive and lucrative traffick among the credulous multitude; the extravagance of their assertions, as well as the irregularities in their conduct, came at last to

BOOK II.

1520.

¹⁰ As the form of these Indulgences, and the benefits which they were supposed to convey, are unknown in protestant countries, and little understood, at present, in several places where the Roman catholick religion is established, I have, for the information of my readers, translated the form of absolution used by Tetzel. "May our Lord Jesus Christ have mercy upon thee, and absolve thee by the merits of his most holy passion. And I by his authority, that of his blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and of the most holy Pope, granted and committed to me in these parts, do absolve thee, first from all ecclesiastical censures in whatever manner they have been incurred, and then from all thy sins, transgressions, and excesses, how enormous soever they may be, even from such as are reserved for the cognizance of the holy see, and as far as the keys of the holy church extend, I remit to you all punishment which you deserve in purgatory on their account, and I restore you to the holy sacraments of the church, to the unity of the faithful, and to that innocence and purity which you possessed at baptism, so that when you die the gates of punishment shall be shut, and the gates of the paradise of delight shall be opened, and if you shall not die at present this grace shall remain in full force when you are at the point of death. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Seckend. Comment. lib. i. p. 14.

The terms in which Tetzel and his associates described the benefits of Indulgences, and the necessity of purchasing them, are so extravagant, that they appear to be almost in-

BOOK II. give general offence. The princes and nobles
 1520. were irritated at seeing their vassals drained of so much wealth, in order to replenish the treasury of a profuse pontiff. Men of piety regretted the delusion of the people, who being taught to rely for the pardon of their sins on the Indulgences which they purchased, did not think it incumbent on them either to abound in faith, or to practise holiness. Even the most unthink-

credible. If any man (said they) purchases letters of Indulgence, his soul may rest secure with respect to its salvation. The souls confined in purgatory, for whose redemption Indulgences are purchased, as soon as the money tinkles in the chest, instantly escape from that place of torment, and ascend into heaven. That the efficacy of Indulgences was so great, that the most heinous sins, even if one should violate (which was impossible) the Mother of God, would be remitted and expiated by them, and the person be freed both from punishment and guilt. That this was the unspeakable gift of God, in order to reconcile men to himself. That the cross erected by the preachers of indulgences, was as efficacious as the cross of Christ itself. Lo! the heavens are open; if you enter not now, when will you enter? For twelve-pence you may redeem the soul of your father out of purgatory; and are you so ungrateful, that you will not rescue your parent from torment? If you had but one coat, you ought to strip yourself instantly, and sell it, in order to purchase such benefits, &c. These, and many such extravagant expressions, are selected out of Luther's works by Chemnitius in his *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, apud Herm. Van der Hardt, *Hist. Liter. Reform.* pars iv. p. 6. The same author has published several of Tetzel's Discourses, which prove that these expressions were neither singular nor exaggerated. Ibid. p. 14.

ing were shocked at the scandalous behaviour of Tetzel and his associates, who often squandered in drunkenness, gaming, and low debauchery, those sums which were piously bestowed in hopes of obtaining eternal happiness; and all began to wish that some check were given to this commerce, no less detrimental to society than destructive to religion.

BOOK II.
1520.

SUCH was the favourable juncture, and so disposed were the minds of his countrymen to listen to his discourses, when Martin Luther first began to call in question the efficacy of Indulgences, and to declaim against the vicious lives and false doctrines of the persons employed in promulgating them. He was a native of Eisleben in Saxony, and though born of poor parents, had received a learned education, during the progress of which he gave many indications of uncommon vigour and acuteness of genius. As his mind was naturally susceptible of serious impressions, and tinged with somewhat of that religious melancholy which delights in the solitude and devotion of a monastick life, he retired into a convent of Augustinian friars, and without suffering the intreaties of his parents to divert him from what he thought his duty to God, he assumed the habit of that order. There he acquired great reputation, not only for piety,

First appearance of Luther, and his character.

BOOK II. but for his love of knowledge, and unwearied
1520. application to study. He had been taught the
scholastic philosophy and theology which were
then in vogue by very able masters, and wanted
not penetration to comprehend all the niceties
and distinctions with which they abound; but
his understanding, naturally sound, and superior
to every thing frivolous, soon became disgusted
with these subtle and uninformative sciences,
and sought for some more solid foundation of
knowledge and of piety in the holy scriptures.
Having found a copy of the Bible, which lay
neglected in the library of his monastery, he
abandoned all other pursuits, and devoted him-
self to the study of it, with such eagerness and
assiduity, as astonished the monks, who were
little accustomed to derive their theological
notions from that source. The great progress
which he made in this uncommon course of
study, augmented so much the fame both of his
sanctity and of his learning, that Frederick,
Elector of Saxony, having founded an university
at Wittemberg on the Elbe, the place of his
residence, Luther was chosen first to teach phi-
losophy, and afterwards theology there, and
discharged both offices in such a manner, that
he was deemed the chief ornament of that
society.

WHILE Luther was at the height of his reputation and authority, Tetzel began to publish Indulgences in the neighbourhood of Wittemberg, and to ascribe to them the same imaginary virtues, which had, in other places, imposed on the credulity of the people. As Saxony was not more enlightened than the other provinces of Germany, Tetzel met with prodigious success there. It was with the utmost concern, that Luther beheld the artifices of those who sold, and the simplicity of those who bought, Indulgences. The opinions of Thomas Aquinas and the other schoolmen, on which the doctrine of Indulgences was founded, had already lost much of their authority with him; and the Scriptures, which he began to consider as the great standard of theological truth, afforded no countenance to a practice, equally subversive of faith and of morals. His warm and impetuous temper did not suffer him long to conceal such important discoveries, or to continue a silent spectator of the delusion of his countrymen. From the pulpit in the great church of Wittemberg he inveighed bitterly against the irregularities and vices of the monks who published Indulgences; he ventured to examine the doctrines which they taught, and pointed out to the people the danger of relying for salvation upon any other means than those appointed by

BOOK II.

1520.

He opposes
the sale of
Indulgences.

BOOK II. God in his word. The boldness and novelty of
 1520. these opinions drew great attention, and being
 recommended by the authority of Luther's personal character, and delivered with a popular and persuasive eloquence, they made a deep impression on his hearers. Encouraged by the favourable reception of his doctrines among the people, he wrote to Albert, elector of Mentz and archbishop of Magdeburgh, to whose jurisdiction that part of Saxony was subject, and remonstrated warmly against the false opinions as well as wicked lives of the preachers of Indulgences; but he found that prelate too deeply interested in their success to correct their abuses. His next attempt was to gain the suffrage of men of learning. For this purpose he published ninety-five theses, containing his sentiments with regard to Indulgences. These he proposed, not as points fully established, or of undoubted certainty, but as subjects of inquiry and disputation; he appointed a day, on which the learned were invited to impugn them either in person, or by writing; to the whole he subjoined solemn protestations of his high respect for the apostolick see, and of his implicit submission to its authority. No opponent appeared at the time prefixed; the theses spread over Germany with astonishing rapidity; they were read with the greatest eagerness; and all ad-

He publishes
 his theses
 against
 them.

mired the boldness of the man who had ventured not only to call in question the plenitude of papal power, but to attack the Dominicans, armed with all the terrors of inquisitorial authority¹¹. BOOK II,
1520.

THE Friars of St. Augustine, Luther's own order, though addicted with no less obsequiousness than the other monastick fraternities to the papal see, gave no check to the publication of these uncommon opinions. Luther had by his piety and learning acquired extraordinary authority among his brethren; he professed the highest regard for the authority of the Pope; his professions were at that time sincere; and as a secret enmity, excited by interest or emulation, subsists among all the monastick orders in the Romish church, the Augustinians were highly pleased with his invectives against the Dominicans, and hoped to see them exposed to the hatred and scorn of the people. Nor was his sovereign the Elector of Saxony, the wisest prince at that time in Germany, dissatisfied with this obstruction which Luther threw in the way of the publication of Indulgences. He secretly encouraged the attempt, and flattered himself

¹¹ Lutheri Opera, Jenæ, 1612. vol. i. præfat. 3. p. 2. 66. Hist. of the Counc. of Trent by F. Paul, p. 4. Seckend. Com. Apol. p. 16.

BOOK II. that this dispute among the Ecclesiasticks themselves, might give some check to the exactions of the court of Rome, which the secular princes had long, though without success, been endeavouring to oppose.

Many endeavour to confute him.

Many zealous champions immediately arose to defend opinions on which the wealth and power of the church were founded, against Luther's attacks. In opposition to these theses, Tetzel published counter-theses at Francfort on the Oder; Eccius, a celebrated Divine of Augsburgh, endeavoured to refute his notions; and Prierias, a dominican friar, master of the sacred palace and Inquisitor-general, wrote against him with all the virulence of a scholastick disputant. But the manner in which they conducted the controversy, did little service to their cause. Luther attempted to combat Indulgences by arguments founded in reason, or derived from scripture; they produced nothing in support of them but the sentiments of schoolmen, the conclusions of the canon law, and the decrees of Popes¹². The decision of judges so partial and interested, did not satisfy the people, who began to call in question the authority even of these venerable guides, when they found them stand-

¹² F. Paul, p. 6. Seckend. p. 40. Palavic. p. 8.

ing in direct opposition to the dictates of reason, Book II.
and the determinations of the divine law¹³. *

¹³ Seckend. p. 30.

* Guicciardini has asserted two things with regard to the first promulgation of Indulgences: 1. That Leo bestowed a gift of the profits arising from the sale of Indulgences in Saxony, and the adjacent provinces of Germany, upon his sister Magdalen, the wife of Franceschetto Cibo, Guic. lib. 13. 168. 2. That Arcemboldo, a Genoese ecclesiastick, who had been bred a merchant, and still retained all the arts of that profession, was appointed by her to collect the money which should be raised. F. Paul has followed him in both these particulars, and adds, that the Augustinians in Saxony had been immemorially employed in preaching Indulgences; but that Arcemboldo and his deputies, hoping to gain more by committing this trust to the Dominicans, had made their bargain with Tetzels, and that Luther was prompted at first to oppose Tetzels and his associates, by a desire of taking revenge for this injury offered to his order. F. Paul, p. 5. Almost all the historians since their time, popish as well as protestant, have, without examination, admitted these assertions to be true upon their authority. But notwithstanding the concurring testimony of two authors so eminent both for exactness and veracity, we may observe,

1. That Felix Contolori, who searched the pontifical archives of purpose, could not find this pretended grant in any of those registers where it must necessarily have been recorded. Palav. p. 5.—2. That the profits arising from Indulgences in Saxony and the adjacent countries, had been granted not to Magdalen, but to Albert archbishop of Mentz, who had the right of nominating those who published them. Seck. p. 12. Luth. Oper. 1. præf. p. 1. Palav. p. 6.—3. That Arcemboldo never had concern in the publication of Indulgences in Saxony; his district was

BOOK II.

MEANWHILE, these novelties in Luther's doctrines which interested all Germany, excited little attention and no alarm in the court of Rome. Leo, fond of elegant and refined pleasures, intent upon great schemes of policy, a

1520.
The court
of Rome at
first disre-
garded Lu-
ther.

Flanders and the Upper and Lower Rhine. Seck. p. 14. Palav. p. 6.—4. That Luther and his adherents never mention this grant of Leo's to his sister, though a circumstance of which they could hardly have been ignorant, and which they would have been careful not to suppress.—5. The publication of Indulgences in Germany, was not usually committed to the Augustinians. The promulgation of them at three different periods under Julius II. was granted to the Franciscans; the Dominicans had been employed in the same office a short time before the present period. Palav. p. 46.—6. The promulgation of those Indulgences, which first excited Luther's indignation, was entrusted to the archbishop of Mentz, in conjunction with the guardian of the Franciscans; but the latter having declined accepting of that trust, the sole right became vested in the archbishop. Palav. 6. Seck. 16, 17.—7. Luther was not instigated by his superiors among the Augustinians to attack the Dominicans their rivals, or to depreciate Indulgences because they were promulgated by them; his opposition to their opinions and vices proceeded from more laudable motives. Seck. p. 15. 32. Lutheri Opera 1. p. 64. 6—8. A diploma of Indulgences is published by Herm. Vander Hardt, from which it appears, that the name of the guardian of the Franciscans is retained together with that of the archbishop, although the former did not act. The limits of the country to which their commissions extended, viz, the dioceses of Mentz, Magdeburgh, Halberstadt, and the territories of the marquis of Brandenburg; are mentioned in that diploma. Hist. Literaria Reformat. pars iv. p. 14.

stranger to theological controversies, and apt to despise them, regarded with the utmost indifference the operations of an obscure Friar, who, in the heart of Germany, carried on a scholastick disputation in a barbarous style. Little did he apprehend, or Luther himself dream, that the effects of this quarrel would be so fatal to the papal see. Leo imputed the whole to monastick enmity and emulation, and seemed inclined not to interpose in the contest, but to allow the Augustinians and Dominicans to wrangle about the matter with their usual animosity.

BOOK II
1520.

THE sollicitations, however, of Luther's adversaries, exasperated to an high degree by the boldness and severity with which he animadverted on their writings, together with the surprising progress which his opinions made in different parts of Germany, roused at last the attention of the court of Rome, and obliged Leo to take measures for the security of the church against an attack that now appeared too serious to be despised. For this end, he summoned Luther to appear at Rome, within sixty days, before the auditor of the chamber, and the same Prierias who had written against him, whom he empowered to examine his doctrines, and to decide concerning them. He wrote, at the same time, to the Elector of Saxony, be-

The progress
of Luther's
opinions.

He is sum-
moned to
appear at
Rome,
July, 1518.

BOOK II. 1520. seeching him not to protect a man whose heretical and prophane tenets were so shocking to pious ears; and enjoined the Provincial of the Augustinians to check by his authority the rashness of an arrogant monk, which brought disgrace upon the order of St. Augustine, and gave offence and disturbance to the whole church.

The Pope empowers his legate to try him in Germany.

FROM the strain of these letters, as well as from the nomination of a judge so prejudiced and partial as Prierias, Luther easily saw what sentence he might expect at Rome. He discovered, for that reason, the utmost solicitude, to have his cause tried in Germany, and before a less suspected tribunal. The professors in the university of Wittemberg, anxious for the safety of a man who did so much honour to their society, wrote to the Pope, and after employing several pretexts to excuse Luther from appearing at Rome, intreated Leo to commit the examination of his doctrines to some persons of learning and authority in Germany. The Elector requested the same thing of the Pope's legate at the diet of Augsburgh; and as Luther himself, who, at that time, was so far from having any intention to disclaim the papal authority, that he did not even entertain the smallest suspicion concerning its divine original, had written to Leo a most submissive letter, promising an unreserved

unreserved compliance with his will, the Pope gratified them so far as to empower his legate in Germany, cardinal Cajetan, a Dominican, eminent for scholastick learning, and passionately devoted to the Roman see, to hear and determine the cause. BOOK II.
1520.

LUTHER, though he had good reason to decline a judge chosen among his avowed adversaries, did not hesitate about appearing before Cajetan, and having obtained the Emperor's safe-conduct, immediately repaired to Augsburgh. The Cardinal received him with decent respect, and endeavoured at first to gain upon him by gentle treatment: But thinking it beneath the dignity of his station to enter into any formal dispute with a person of such inferior rank, he required him, by virtue of the apostolick powers with which he was clothed, to retract the errors which he had uttered with regard to indulgences, and the nature of faith; and to abstain, for the future, from the publication of new and dangerous opinions. Luther, fully persuaded of the truth of his own tenets, and confirmed in the belief of them by the approbation which they had met with among persons conspicuous both for their learning and piety, was surprized at this abrupt mention of a recantation, before any endeavours were used to convince him that

Luther appears before the legate.

BOOK. II. he was mistaken. He had flattered himself,
 1520. that in a conference concerning the points in
 dispute, with a prelate of such distinguished
 abilities, he would be able to remove many of
 those imputations with which the ignorance or
 malice of his antagonists had loaded him; but
 the high tone of authority that the Cardinal
 assumed, extinguished at once all hopes of this
 kind, and cut off every prospect of advantage
 from the interview. His native intrepidity of
 His intrepid
 behaviour. mind, however, did not desert him. He de-
 clared, with the utmost firmness, that he could
 not, with a safe conscience, renounce opinions
 which he believed to be true; nor should any
 consideration ever induce him to do what would
 be so base in itself, and so offensive to God.
 At the same time, he continued to express no
 less reverence than formerly for the authority
 of the apostolick see ¹⁴; he signified his willing-
 ness to submit the whole controverfy to certain
 universities which he named, and promised
 neither to write nor to preach concerning Indul-
 gences for the future, provided his adversaries
 were likewise enjoined to be silent with respect
 to them ¹⁵. All these offers Cajetan disregarded
 or rejected, and still insisted peremptorily on a
 simple recantation, threatening him with eccle-
 siastical censures, and forbidding him to appear

¹⁴ Luth. Oper. vol. i. p. 164.

¹⁵ Ibid. p. 169.

again in his presence, unless he resolved instantly to comply with what he had required. BOOK II.
1520.

This haughty and violent manner of proceeding, as well as other circumstances, gave Luther's friends such strong reasons to suspect, that even the Imperial safe-conduct would not be able to protect him from the legate's power and resentment, that they prevailed on him to withdraw secretly from Augsburgh, and to return to his own country. But before his departure, according to a form of which there had been some examples, he prepared a solemn appeal, from the Pope, ill-informed at that time concerning his cause, to the Pope, when he should receive more full information with respect to it ¹⁶. His appeal,
October 18.

CAJETAN, enraged at Luther's abrupt retreat, and at the publication of his appeal, wrote to the Elector of Saxony, complaining of both; and requiring him, as he regarded the peace of the church, or the authority of its head, either to send that seditious monk a prisoner to Rome, or to banish him out of his territories. It was not from theological considerations that Frederick had hitherto countenanced Luther; he seems to have been much a stranger to controversies of that kind, and to have been little

¹⁶ Sleid. Hist. of Reform. p. 7. Seckend. p. 45. Leuth. Oper. i. 163.

BOOK II. interested in them. His protection flowed almost entirely, as hath been already observed, from political motives, and was afforded with great secrecy and caution. He had neither heard any of Luther's discourses, nor read any of his books; and though all Germany resounded with his fame, he had never once admitted him into his presence¹⁷. But upon this demand which the Cardinal made, it became necessary to throw off somewhat of his former reserve. He had been at great expence, and had bestowed much attention on founding a new university, an object of considerable importance to every German prince; and foreseeing how fatal a blow the removal of Luther would be to its reputation¹⁸, he, under various pretexts, and with many professions of esteem for the Cardinal, as well as of reverence for the Pope, not only declined complying with either of his requests, but openly discovered great concern for Luther's safety¹⁹.

Motives of
the legate's
conduct.

THE inflexible rigour with which Cajetan insisted on a simple recantation, gave great offence to Luther's followers in that age, and hath since been censured as imprudent, by several Popish writers. But it was impossible for the legate to

¹⁷ Seckend. p. 27. Sleid. Hist. p. 12. ¹⁸ Seckend. p. 59. ¹⁹ Sleid. Hist. p. 10. Luth. Oper. I. 172.

act another part. The judges before whom Luther had been required to appear at Rome, were so eager to display their zeal against his errors, that, without waiting for the expiration of the sixty days allowed him in the citation, they had already condemned him as an heretic^{2o}. Leo had, in several of his briefes and letters, stigmatized him as a child of iniquity, and a man given up to a reprobate sense. Nothing less, therefore, than a recantation could save the honour of the church, whose maxim it is, never to abandon the smallest point that it has established, and which is even precluded, by its pretensions to infallibility, from having it in its power to do so. Book II.
1520.

LUTHER's situation, meanwhile, was such as Luther's would have filled any other person with the most perilous disquieting apprehensions. He could not expect that a prince so prudent and cautious as Frederick, would, on his account, set at defiance the thunders of the church, and brave the papal power, which had crushed some of the most powerful of the German Emperors. He knew what veneration was paid, at that time, to ecclesiastical decisions; what terrors ecclesiastical censures carried along with them, and how easily these might intimidate and shake a prince, who situation.

^{2o} Luth. Oper. i. 161.

BOOK II. was rather his protector from policy, than his
 1520. disciple from conviction. If he should be obliged to quit Saxony, he had no prospect of any other asylum, and must stand exposed to whatever punishment the rage or bigotry of his enemies could inflict. Though sensible of his danger, he discovered no symptoms of timidity or remissness, but continued to vindicate his own conduct and opinions; and to inveigh against those of his adversaries with more vehemence than ever ²¹.

He appeals
 to a general
 council.

BUT as every step taken by the court of Rome, particularly the irregular sentence by which he had been so precipitately declared a heretick, convinced Luther that Leo would soon proceed to the most violent measures against him, he had recourse to the only expedient in his power, in order to prevent the effect of the papal censures. He appealed to a general council, which he affirmed to be the representative of the catholick church, and superior in power to the Pope, who being a fallible man, might err, as St. Peter, the most perfect of his predecessors, had erred ²².

A new bull
 in favour of
 Indulgences.

IT soon appeared, that Luther had not formed rash conjectures concerning the intentions of the

²¹ Seckend. p. 59.

²² Sleid. Hist. 12. Luth. Oper. i. 179.

Romish church. A bull, of a date prior to his appeal, was issued by the Pope, in which he magnifies the virtue and efficacy of Indulgences, in terms as extravagant as any of his predecessors had ventured to use in the darkest ages; and without applying such palliatives, or mentioning such concessions, as the juncture seemed to call for, he required all Christians to assent to what he delivered as the doctrine of the Catholic church, and subjected those who should hold or teach any contrary opinion to the heaviest ecclesiastical censures.

BOOK II.
1520.

AMONG Luther's followers, this bull, which they considered as an unjustifiable effort of the Pope in order to preserve that rich branch of his revenue which arose from Indulgences, produced little effect. But, among the rest of his countrymen, such a clear decision of the sovereign pontiff against him, and enforced by such dreadful penalties, must have been attended with consequences very fatal to his cause; if these had not been prevented in a great measure by the death of the Emperor Maximilian, whom both his principles and his interest prompted to support the authority of the holy see. In consequence of this event, the vicariat of that part of Germany which is governed by the Saxon laws, devolved to the elector of Saxony; and

Maximilian's death
of advantage
to Luther.

Jan. 17,
1519.

BOOK II,
1520,

under the shelter of his friendly administration, Luther not only enjoyed tranquillity, but his opinions were suffered, during the inter-regnum which preceded Charles's election, to take root in different places, and to grow up to some degree of strength and firmness. At the same time, as the election of an Emperor was a point more interesting to Leo than a theological controversy, which he did not understand, and of which he could not foresee the consequences, he was so extremely solicitous not to irritate a prince of such considerable influence in the electoral college as Frederick, that he discovered a great unwillingness to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against Luther, which his adversaries continually demanded with the most clamorous importunity.

Suspension
of proceed-
ings against
Luther.

To these political views of the Pope, as well as to his natural aversion from severe measures, was owing the suspension of any further proceedings against Luther for eighteen months. Perpetual negotiations, however, in order to bring the matter to some amicable issue, were carried on during that space. The manner in which these were conducted having given Luther many opportunities of observing the corruption of the court of Rome; its obstinacy in adhering to established errors; and its indifference

about truth, however clearly proposed, or strongly proved, he began to utter some doubts with regard to the divine original of the papal authority. A publick disputation was held upon this important question at Leipfick, between Luther and Eccius, one of his most learned and formidable antagonists; but it was as fruitless and indecise as such scholastick combats usually prove. Both parties boasted of having obtained the victory; both were confirmed in their own opinions; and no progress was made towards deciding the point in controversy ²³

1520.
He begins
to call in
question the
papal au-
thority.

NOR did this spirit of mutiny against the doctrines and usurpations of the Romish church break out in Saxony alone; an attack no less fierce, and occasioned by the same causes, was made upon them about this time in Switzerland. The Franciscans being entrusted with the promulgation of Indulgences in that country, executed their commission with the same indiscretion and rapaciousness, which had rendered the Dominicans so odious in Germany. They proceeded, nevertheless, with uninterrupted success till they arrived at Zurich. There Zuinglius, a man not inferior to Luther himself in zeal and intrepidity, ventured to oppose them; and being animated with a republican boldness, and

Reforma-
tion in Swit-
zerland.

²³ Luth. Oper. i. 199.

BOOK II. free from those restraints which subjection to
 1520. the will of a Prince imposed on the German re-
 former, he advanced with more daring and rapid
 steps to overturn the whole fabrick of the esta-
 blished religion²⁴. The appearance of such a
 vigorous auxiliary, and the progress which he
 made, was, at first, matter of great joy to Lu-
 ther. On the other hand, the decrees of the uni-
 versities of Cologne and Louvain, which pro-
 nounced his opinions to be erroneous, afforded
 great cause of triumph to his adversaries.

Luther's
 boldness,
 and pro-
 gress.

BUT the undaunted spirit of Luther acquired
 fresh vigour from every instance of opposition;
 and pushing on his inquiries and attacks from
 one doctrine to another, he began to shake the
 firmest foundations on which the wealth or
 power of the church were established. Leo
 came at last to be convinced, that all hopes of
 reclaiming him by forbearance were vain; seve-
 ral prelates of great wisdom exclaimed no less
 than Luther's personal adversaries against the
 Pope's unprecedented lenity, in permitting an
 incorrigible heretick, who during three years had
 been endeavouring to subvert every thing sa-
 cred and venerable, still to remain within the
 bosom of the church; the dignity of the papal
 see rendered the most vigorous proceedings ne-

²⁴ Sleid. Hist. 22. Seckend. 59.

cessary; the new Emperor, it was hoped, would support its authority; nor did it seem probable that the Elector of Saxony would so far forget his usual caution, as to set himself in opposition to their united power. The college of cardinals was often assembled, in order to prepare the sentence with due deliberation, and the ablest canonists were consulted how it might be expressed with unexceptionable formality. At last, on the fifteenth of June, one thousand five hundred and twenty, the bull, so fatal to the church of Rome, was issued. Forty-one propositions, extracted out of Luther's works, are therein condemned as heretical, scandalous, and offensive to pious ears; all persons are forbidden to read his writings, upon pain of excommunication; such as had any of them in their custody, are commanded to commit them to the flames; he himself, if he did not, within sixty days, publicly recant his errors, and burn his books, is pronounced an obstinate heretick; is excommunicated, and delivered unto Satan for the destruction of his flesh; and all secular Princes are required, under pain of incurring the same censure, to seize his person, that he might be punished as his crimes deserved²⁵.

Bull of excommunication published against him.

THE publication of this bull in Germany, excited various passions in different places. Lu-

The effect of this in Germany,

²⁵ Palavic. 27. Luth. Oper. i. 423.

BOOK II. ther's adversaries exulted, as if his party and
 1520. opinions had been crushed at once by such a decisive blow. His followers, whose reverence for the papal authority daily diminished, read Leo's anathemas with more indignation than terror. In some cities, the people violently obstructed the promulgation of the bull; in others, the persons who attempted to publish it were insulted, and the bull itself torn in pieces, and trodden under foot²⁶.

and upon
 Luther.
 Nov. 17.

THIS sentence, which he had for some time expected, did not disconcert or intimidate Luther. After renewing his appeal to the general council, he published remarks upon the bull of excommunication; and being now persuaded that Leo had been guilty both of impiety and injustice in his proceedings against him, he boldly declared the Pope to be that man of sin, or Anti-christ, whose appearance is foretold in the New Testament; he declaimed against his tyranny and usurpations with greater violence than ever; he exhorted all Christian Princes to shake off such an ignominious yoke; and boasted of his own happiness in being marked out as the object of ecclesiastical indignation, because he had ventured to assert the liberty of mankind. Nor did he confine his expressions of contempt

²⁶ Seckend. p. 116.

for the papal power to words alone ; Leo having, in execution of the bull, appointed Luther's books to be burnt at Rome, he, by way of retaliation, assembled all the professors and students in the university of Wittemberg, and with great pomp, in presence of a vast multitude of spectators, cast the volumes of the canon law, together with the bull of excommunication, into the flames; and his example was imitated in several cities of Germany. The manner in which he justified this action, was still more offensive than the action itself. Having collected from the canon law some of the most extravagant propositions with regard to the plenitude and omnipotence, of the Pope's power, as well as the subordination of all secular jurisdiction to his authority, he published these with a commentary, pointing out the impiety of such tenets, and their evident tendency to subvert all civil government ²⁷.

BOOK II.
1520.

SUCH was the progress which Luther had made, and such the state of his party, when Charles arrived in Germany. No secular Prince had hitherto embraced Luther's opinions ; no change in the established forms of worship had been introduced ; and no encroachments had been made upon the possessions or jurisdiction of the clergy ; neither party had yet proceeded to

State of the
Reforma-
tion when
Charles ar-
rived in
Germany

²⁷ Luth. Oper. ii. 316.

BOOK II. action; and the controversy, though conducted
 1520. with great heat and passion on both sides, was still
 carried on with its proper weapons, with theses,
 disputations, and replies. A deep impression,
 however, was made upon the minds of the people;
 their reverence for ancient institutions and doc-
 trines was shaken; and the materials were al-
 ready scattered which kindled into the combus-
 tion that soon spread over all Germany. Stu-
 dents crowded from every province of the Empire
 to Wittemberg; and under Luther himself, Me-
 lancthon, Carlostadius, and other masters, then
 reckoned eminent, imbibed opinions, which, on
 their return, they propagated among their coun-
 trymen, who listened to them with that fond at-
 tention, which truth, when accompanied with
 novelty, naturally commands²⁸.

Reflections
 upon the
 conduct of
 the court of
 Rome.

DURING the course of these transactions, the
 court of Rome, though under the direction of
 one of its ablest Pontiffs, neither formed its
 schemes with that profound sagacity, nor exe-
 cuted them with that steady perseverance, which
 had long rendered it the most perfect model of
 political wisdom to the rest of Europe. When
 Luther began to declaim against Indulgences,
 two different methods of treating him lay before
 the Pope; by adopting one of which the attempt,

²⁸ Seckend. 59.

it is probable, might have been crushed, and by the other it might have been rendered innocent. Book II.
1520.

If Luther's first departure from the doctrines of the church had instantly drawn upon him the weight of its censures, the dread of these might have restrained the Elector of Saxony from protecting him, might have deterred the people from listening to his discourses, or even might have overawed Luther himself; and his name, like that of many good men before his time, would now have been known to the world only for his honest but ill-timed effort, to correct the corruptions of the Romish church. On the other hand, if the Pope had early testified some displeasure with the vices and excesses of the friars who had been employed in publishing Indulgences; if he had forbidden the mentioning of controverted points in discourses addressed to the people; if he had enjoined the disputants on both sides to be silent; if he had been careful not to risque the credit of the church by defining articles which had hitherto been left undetermined, Luther would, probably, have stopt short at his first discoveries: He would not have been forced in self-defence to venture upon new ground, and the whole controversy might possibly have died away insensibly; or being confined entirely to the schools, might have been carried on with as little detriment to the peace and unity

BOOK II. of the Romish church, as that which the Franciscans maintain with the Dominicans, concerning the immaculate conception, or that between the Jansenists and Jesuits concerning the operations of grace. But Leo, by fluctuating between these opposite systems, and by embracing them alternately, defeated the effects of both. By an improper exertion of authority, Luther was exasperated, but not restrained. By a mistaken exercise of lenity, time was given for his opinions to spread, but no progress made towards reconciling him to the church; and even the sentence of excommunication, which at another juncture might have been decisive, was delayed so long, that it became at last scarcely an object of terror.

and upon
the conduct
of Luther.

SUCH a series of errors in the measures of a court, seldom chargeable with mistaking its own true interest, is not more astonishing than the wisdom which appeared in Luther's conduct. Though a perfect stranger to the maxims of human prudence, and incapable, from the impetuosity of his temper, of observing them, he was led naturally by the method in which he made his discoveries, to carry on his operations in a manner which contributed more to their success, than if every step he took had been prescribed by the most artful policy. At the time
when

when he set himself to oppose Tetzels, he was far from intending that reformation which he afterwards effected; and would have trembled with horror at the thoughts of what at last he gloried in accomplishing. The knowledge of truth was not poured into his mind, all at once, by any special revelation, he acquired it by industry and meditation, and his progress, of consequence, was gradual. The doctrines of Popery are so closely connected, that the exposing of one error conducted him naturally to the detection of others; and all the parts of that artificial fabrick were so linked together, that the pulling down of one loosened the foundation of the rest, and rendered it more easy to overturn them. In confuting the extravagant tenets concerning Indulgences, he was obliged to inquire into the true cause of our justification and acceptance with God. The knowledge of that, discovered to him by degrees the inutility of pilgrimages and penances; the vanity of relying on the intercession of saints; the impiety of worshipping them; the abuses of auricular confession; and the imaginary existence of purgatory. The detection of so many errors, led him of course to consider the character of the clergy who taught them; and their exorbitant wealth, severe injunction of celibacy, together with the intolerable rigour of monastick vows, appeared

BOOK II.

1520.

BOOK II. to him the great sources of their corruption.
1520. From thence, it was but one step to call in question the divine original of the papal power, which authorized and supported such a system of errors. As the unavoidable result of the whole, he disclaimed the infallibility of the Pope, the decisions of schoolmen, or any other human authority, and appealed to the word of God as the only standard of theological truth. To this gradual progress Luther owed his success. His hearers were not shocked at first by any proposition too repugnant to their ancient prejudices, or too remote from established opinions. They were conducted insensibly from one doctrine to another. Their faith and conviction were able to keep pace with his discoveries. To the same cause was owing the inattention, and even indifference with which Leo viewed Luther's first proceedings. A direct or violent attack upon the authority of the church, would at once have drawn upon Luther the whole weight of its vengeance; but as this was far from his thoughts, as he continued long to profess great respect for the Pope, and made repeated offers of submission to his decisions, there seemed to be no reason for apprehending that he would prove the author of any desperate revolt; and he was suffered to proceed step by step, in undermining the constitution of the church, until the

remedy applied at last came too late to produce any effect. BOOK II.
1520.

BUT whatever advantages Luther's cause derived either from the mistakes of his adversaries, or from his own good conduct, the sudden progress and firm establishment of his doctrines must not be ascribed to these alone. The same corruptions in the church of Rome which he condemned, had been attacked long before his appearance. The same opinions which he now propagated, had been published in different places, and were supported by the same arguments. Waldus in the twelfth century, Wickliff in the fourteenth, and Huss in the fifteenth, had inveighed against the errors of Popery with great boldness, and confuted them with more ingenuity and learning than could have been expected in those illiterate ages in which they flourished. But all these premature attempts towards a reformation proved abortive. Such feeble lights, incapable of dispelling the darkness which then covered the church, were soon extinguished: and though the doctrines of these pious men produced some effects, and left some traces in the countries where they taught, they were neither extensive nor considerable. Many powerful causes contributed to facilitate Luther's progress, which either did not exist, or

An inquiry
into the
causes
which con-
tributed to
the progress
of the Re-
formation.

BOOK II. did not operate with full force in their days;
 1520. and at the critical and mature juncture when he appeared, circumstances of every kind concurred in rendering each step that he took successful.

The long
 schism in
 the four-
 teenth cen-
 tury.

THE long and scandalous schism which divided the church, during the latter part of the fourteenth, and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, had a great effect in diminishing the veneration with which the world had been accustomed to view the papal dignity. Two or three contending Pontiffs roaming about Europe at a time; fawning on the Princes whom they wanted to gain; squeezing the countries which acknowledged their authority; excommunicating their rivals, and cursing those who adhered to them, discredited their pretensions to infallibility, and exposed both their persons and their office to contempt. The laity, to whom all parties appealed, came to learn that some right of private judgment belonged to them, and acquired the exercise of it so far as to chuse, among these infallible guides, whom they would please to follow. The proceedings of the councils of Constance and Basil, spread this disrespect for the Romish see still wider, and by their bold exertion of authority in deposing and electing Popes, taught the world that there was

in the church a jurisdiction superior even to the Book II.
papal power, which they had long believed to 1520.
be supreme.

THE wound given on that occasion to the The ponti-
papal authority was scarcely healed up, when ficates of
the pontificates of Alexander VI. and Julius II. Alexander
both able princes, but detestable ecclesiastiks, VI. and of
raised new scandal in Christendom. Julius II.
The pro-
fligate morals of the former in private life; the
fraud, the injustice and cruelty of his publick
administration, place him on a level with those
tyrants, whose deeds are the greatest reproach
to human nature. The latter, though a stranger
to the odious passions which prompted his pre-
decessor to commit so many unnatural crimes,
was under the dominion of a restless and ungo-
vernable ambition, which scorned all considera-
tions of gratitude, of decency, or of justice,
when they obstructed the execution of his
schemes. It was hardly possible, to be firmly
persuaded that the infallible knowledge of a
religion, whose chief precepts are purity and
humility, was deposited in the breasts of the
impious Alexander, or the overbearing Julius.
The opinion of those who exalted the authority
of a council above that of the Pope, spread
wonderfully under their pontificates: And as
the Emperor and French Kings, who were alter-

BOOK II. nately engaged in hostilities with those active
 1520. Pontiffs, permitted and even encouraged their subjects to expose their vices with all the violence of invective, and all the petulance of ridicule, men's ears being accustomed to these, were not shocked with the bold or ludicrous discourses of Luther and his followers concerning the papal dignity.

The immoral lives of the clergy;

NOR were such excesses confined to the head of the church alone. Many of the dignified clergy, secular as well as regular, being the younger sons of noble families, who had assumed the ecclesiastical character for no other reason but that they found in the church stations of great dignity and affluence, were accustomed totally to neglect the duties of their office, and indulged themselves without reserve in all the vices to which great wealth and idleness naturally give birth. Though the inferior clergy were prevented by their poverty from imitating the expensive luxury of their superiors, yet gross ignorance and low debauchery rendered them as contemptible as the other were odious²⁹. The

²⁹ The corrupt state of the church prior to the Reformation, is acknowledged by an author, who was both abundantly able to judge concerning this matter, and who was not overforward to confess it. "For some years (says Bellarmine) before the Lutheran and Calvinistick heresies

severe and unnatural law of celibacy, to which both were equally subject, occasioned such irregularities, that in several parts of Europe the concubinage of priests was not only permitted, but enjoined. The employing of a remedy so contrary to the genius of the Christian religion, is the strongest proof that the crimes it was intended to prevent were both numerous and flagrant. Long before the sixteenth century, many authors of great name and authority give such descriptions of the dissolute morals of the clergy, as seem almost incredible in the present age³⁰. The voluptuous lives of ecclesiasticks

BOOK II.

1520.

were published, there was not (as contemporary authors testify) any severity in ecclesiastical judicatories, any discipline with regard to morals, any knowledge of sacred literature, any reverence for divine things, there was not almost any religion remaining." Bellarminus Concio xxviii. Oper. tom. vi. col. 296. edit. Colon. 1617, apud Gerdesii. Hist. Evan. Renovati, vol. i. p. 25.

³⁰ Centum Gravamina Nationis German. in Fasciculo Rer. expetend. & fugiendarum, per Ortuinum Gratium, vol. i. 361. See innumerable passages to the same purpose in the appendix, or second volume, published by Edw. Brown. See also Herm. Van der Hardt. Hist. Lit. Reform. pars iii. and the vast collections of Walchius in his four volumes of Monumenta mediæ ævi, Gotting. 1757.

The authors I have quoted enumerate the vices of the clergy. When they ventured upon actions manifestly criminal, we may conclude that they would be less scrupulous with respect to the decorum of behaviour. Accordingly their neglect of the decent conduct suitable to their pro-

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occasioned great scandal, not only because their manners were inconsistent with their sacred character; but the laity being accustomed to see several of them raised from the lowest stations to the greatest affluence, did not shew the same indulgence to their excesses, as to those of persons possessed of hereditary wealth or grandeur, and viewing their condition with more envy, they censured their crimes with greater severity. Nothing, therefore, could be more acceptable to Luther's hearers, than the violence with which he exclaimed against the immoralities of churchmen, and every person in his audience could, from his own observation, confirm the truth of his invectives.

cession, seems to have given great offence. In order to illustrate this, I shall transcribe one passage, because it is taken not from any author whose professed purpose it was to describe the improper conduct of the clergy; and who, from prejudice or artifice, may be supposed to aggravate the charge against them. The Emperor Charles IV. in a letter to the archbishop of Mentz, A. D. 1359, exhorting him to reform the disorders of the clergy, thus expresses himself: "*De Christi patrimonio, ludos, hastiludia & torneamenta exercent; habitum militare cum prætextis aureis & argenteis gestant, & calceos militares; comam & barbam nutriunt, & nihil quod ad vitam & ordinem ecclesiasticum spectat, ostendunt. Militaribus se duntaxat & secularibus actibus, vita & moribus, in suæ salutis dispendium, & generale populi scandalum, immiscent.*" Codex Diplomaticus Anecdotorum, per Val. Ferd. Gudenum, 4to. vol. iii. p. 438.

The facility
with which
these immo-
ralities were
pardoned;

THE scandal of these crimes was greatly increased by the facility with which such as committed them obtained pardon. In all the European kingdoms, the impotence of the civil magistrate, under forms of government extremely irregular and turbulent, made it necessary to relax the rigour of justice, and upon payment of a certain fine or composition prescribed by law, judges were accustomed to remit farther punishment, even of the most atrocious crimes. The court of Rome, always attentive to the means of augmenting its revenues, imitated this practice, and by a preposterous accommodation of it to religious concerns, granted its pardons to such transgressors as gave a sum of money in order to purchase them. As the idea of a composition for crimes was then familiar, this strange traffick was so far from shocking mankind, that it soon became general; and in order to prevent any imposition in carrying it on, the officers of the Roman chancery published a book, containing the precise sum to be exacted for the pardon of every particular sin. A deacon guilty of murder was absolved for twenty crowns. A bishop or abbot might assassinate for three hundred livres. Any ecclesiastick might violate his vows of chastity even with the most aggravating circumstances, for the third part of that sum. Even such shocking

BOOK II. crimes, as occur seldom in human life, and
 1520. perhaps exist only in the impure imagination of
 a casuist, were taxed at a very moderate rate.
 When a more regular and perfect mode of dis-
 pensing justice came to be introduced into civil
 courts, the practice of paying a composition for
 crimes went gradually into disuse; and mankind
 having acquired more accurate notions concern-
 ing religion and morality, the conditions on
 which the court of Rome bestowed its pardons
 appeared impious, and were considered as one
 great source of ecclesiastical corruption³¹.

The exorbi-
 tant wealth
 of the
 church;

THIS degeneracy of manners among the clergy
 might have been tolerated, perhaps, with great-
 er indulgence, if their exorbitant riches and
 power had not enabled them, at the same time,
 to oppress all other orders of men. It is the
 genius of superstition, fond of whatever is pom-
 pous or grand, to set no bounds to its liberality
 towards persons whom it esteems sacred, and to
 think its expressions of regard defective unless
 it hath raised them to the height of wealth
 and authority. Hence flowed the extensive
 revenues and jurisdiction possessed by the church
 in every country of Europe, and which were

³¹ Fascicul. Rer. expet. & fug. i. 355. J. G. Schelhornii
 Amoenit. Literar. Francof. 1725, vol. ii. 369. Diction. de
 Bayle, Artic. Banck & Tuppius. Taxa Cancellar. Romanæ,
 Edit. Francof. 1651. passim.

become intolerable to the laity from whose un- Book II.
discerning bounty they were at first derived. 1520.

THE burden, however, of ecclesiastical oppression had fallen with such peculiar weight on the Germans, as rendered them, though naturally exempt from levity, and tenacious of their ancient customs, more inclinable than any people in Europe to listen to those who called on them to assert their liberty. During the long contests between the Popes and Emperors concerning the right of investiture, and the wars which these occasioned, most of the considerable German ecclesiasticks joined the papal faction; and while engaged in rebellion against the head of the Empire, they seized the Imperial revenues, and usurped the Imperial jurisdiction within their own dioceses. Upon the re-establishment of tranquillity, they still retained these usurpations, as if by the length of an unjust possession they had acquired a legal right to them. The Emperors, too feeble to wrest them out of their hands, were obliged to grant the clergy fiefs of those vast territories, and they enjoyed all the immunities as well as honours which belonged to feudal barons. By means of these, many bishops and abbots in Germany were not only ecclesiasticks, but princes, and their character and

BOOK II. manners partook more of the licence, too frequent among the latter, than of the sanctity which became the former ³².

where the clergy usurped a great part of the property.

THE unsettled state of government in Germany, and the frequent wars to which that country was exposed, contributed in another manner towards aggrandizing ecclesiasticks. The only property, during those times of anarchy, which enjoyed security from the oppression of the great, or the ravages of war, was that which belonged to the church. This was owing, not only to the great reverence for the sacred character prevalent in those ages, but to a superstitious dread of the sentence of excommunication, which the clergy were ready to pronounce against all who invaded their possessions. Many observing this, made a surrender of their lands to ecclesiasticks, and consenting to hold them in fee of the church, obtained as its vassals a degree of safety, which without this device they were unable to procure. By such an increase of the number of their vassals, the power of ecclesiasticks received a real and permanent augmentation; and as lands, held in fee by the limited tenures common in those ages, often returned to the persons on whom the fief depend-

³² F. Paul. History of Ecclesiast. Benefices, p. 107.

ed, considerable additions were made in this Book II. way to the property of the clergy ³³. 1520.

THE solicitude of the clergy in providing for the safety of their own persons, was still greater than that which they displayed in securing their possessions; and their efforts to attain it were still more successful. As they were consecrated to the priestly office with much outward solemnity; were distinguished from the rest of mankind by a peculiar garb and manner of life; and arrogated to their order many privileges which do not belong to other Christians, they naturally became the objects of excessive veneration. As a superstitious spirit spread, they were regarded as beings of a superior species to the profane laity, whom it would be impious to try by the same laws, or to subject to the same punishments. This exemption from civil jurisdiction, granted at first to ecclesiasticks, as a mark of respect, they soon claimed as a point of right. This valuable immunity of the priesthood is asserted, not only in the decrees of Popes and councils, but was confirmed in the most ample form by many of the greatest Emperors ³⁴. As long as the clerical character re-

The vast personal immunities of ecclesiasticks.

³³ F. Paul, Hist. of Eccles. Benef. p. 66. Boulainvilliers, Etat de la France, tom. i. 169. Lond. 1737.

³⁴ Goldasti Constitut. Imperial. Francof. 1673. vol. ii. 92. 107.

BOOK II. 1520. maintained, the person of an ecclesiastick was sacred; and unless he were degraded from his office, the unhallowed hand of the civil judge durst not touch him. But as the power of degradation was lodged in the spiritual courts, the difficulty and expence of obtaining such a sentence, too often secured absolute impunity to offenders. Many assumed the clerical character for no other reason, than that it might screen them from the punishment which their actions deserved³⁵. The German nobles complained loudly, that these anointed malefactors, as they call them³⁶, seldom suffered capitally, even for the most atrocious crimes; and their independence on the civil magistrate is often mentioned in the remonstrances of the diets, as a privilege equally pernicious to society, and to the morals of the clergy.

Their encroachment on the jurisdiction of the laity.

WHILE the clergy asserted the privileges of their own order with so much zeal, they made continual encroachments upon those of the laity. All causes relative to matrimony, to testaments, to usury, to legitimacy of birth, as well as those which concerned ecclesiastical revenues, were thought to be so connected with religion, that they could be tried only in the spiritual courts.

³⁵ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xiii. 532. ³⁶ *Centum Gram.* § 31.

Not satisfied with this ample jurisdiction, which extended to one half of the subjects which give rise to litigation among men, the clergy, with wonderful industry, and by a thousand inventions, endeavoured to draw all other causes into their own courts³⁷. As they had engrossed the whole learning known in the dark ages, the spiritual judges were commonly so far superior in knowledge and abilities to those employed in the secular courts, that the people at first favoured any stretch that was made to bring their affairs under the cognizance of a judicature, on the decisions of which they could rely with more perfect confidence. Thus the interest of the church, and the inclination of the people, concurring to elude the jurisdiction of the lay-magistrate, soon reduced it almost to nothing³⁸. By means of this, vast power accrued to ecclesiasticks, and no inconsiderable addition was made to their revenue by the sums paid in those ages to such as administered justice.

THE penalty by which the spiritual courts enforced their sentences, added great weight and terror to their jurisdiction. The censure of ex-communication was instituted originally for preserving the purity of the church; that obstinate

The dreadful effects of spiritual censures.

³⁷ Giannone Hist. of Naples, book xix. § 3.

³⁸ Centum Gravam. § 9. 56. 64.

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1520.

offenders, whose impious tenets or profane lives were a reproach to Christianity, might be cut off from the society of the faithful: This, ecclesiasticks did not scruple to convert into an engine for promoting their own power, and inflicted it on the most frivolous occasions. Whoever despised any of their decisions, even concerning civil matters, immediately incurred this dreadful censure, which not only excluded them from all the privileges of a Christian, but deprived them of their rights as men and citizens³⁹; and the dread of this rendered even the most fierce and turbulent spirits obsequious to the authority of the church.

The devices
of ecclesiasticks
to secure their
usurpations.

NOR did the clergy neglect the proper methods of preserving the wealth and power which they had acquired with such industry and address. The possessions of the church, being consecrated to God, were declared to be unalienable; so that the funds of a society which was daily gaining, and could never lose, grew to be immense. In Germany, it was computed that the ecclesiasticks had got into their hands more than one half of the national property⁴⁰. In other countries, the proportion varied; but the share belonging to the church was everywhere prodigious. These vast possessions were

³⁹ Centum Gravam. § 34. ⁴⁰ Centum Gravam. § 28.

not subject to the burdens imposed on the lands of the laity. The German clergy were exempted by law from all taxes ⁴¹; and if, on any extraordinary emergence, ecclesiasticks were pleased to grant some aid towards supplying the publick exigencies, this was considered as a free gift flowing from their own generosity, which the civil magistrate had no title to demand, far less to exact. In consequence of this strange solecism in government, the laity in Germany had the mortification to find themselves loaded with excessive impositions, because such as possessed the greatest property were freed from any obligation to support, or to defend the state.

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GRIEVOUS, however, as the exorbitant wealth and numerous privileges of the clerical order were to the other members of the Germanick body, they would have reckoned it some mitigation of the evil, if these had been possessed only by ecclesiasticks residing among themselves, who would have been less apt to make an improper use of their riches, or to exercise their right with unbecoming rigour. But the bishops of Rome having early put in a claim, the boldest that ever human ambition suggested, of being supreme and infallible heads of the Christian church; they, by their profound policy and

The German ecclesiasticks mostly foreigners.

⁴¹ Centum Gravam. § 28. Goldasti Const. Imper. ii. 79. 108. Pfeffel, Hist. du Droit Publ. 350. 374.

BOOK II. unwearied perseverance, by their address in
 1520. availing themselves of every circumstance which occurred, by taking advantage of the superstition of some Princes, of the necessities of others, and of the credulity of the people, at length established their pretensions, in opposition both to the interest and common sense of mankind. Germany was the country which these ecclesiastical sovereigns governed with most absolute authority. They excommunicated and deposed some of its most illustrious Emperors, and excited their subjects, their ministers, and even their children, to take arms against them. Amidst these contests, the Popes continually extended their own immunities, spoiling the secular Princes gradually of their most valuable prerogatives, and the German church felt all the rigour of that oppression which flows from subjection to foreign dominion, and foreign exactions.

Nominated
 by the Pope.

THE right of conferring benefices, which the Popes usurped during that period of confusion, was an acquisition of great importance, and exalted the ecclesiastical power upon the ruins of the temporal. The Emperors and other princes of Germany had long been in possession of this right, which served to increase both their authority and their revenue. But by wresting

it out of their hands, the Popes were enabled to fill the Empire with their own creatures; they accustomed a great body of every prince's subjects to depend not upon him, but upon the Roman see; they bestowed upon strangers the richest benefices in every country, and drained their wealth to supply the luxury of a foreign court. Even the patience of the most superstitious ages mutinied under such oppression; and so loud and frequent were the complaints and murmurs of the Germans, that the Popes, afraid of irritating them too far, consented, contrary to their usual practice, to abate somewhat of their pretensions, and to rest satisfied with the right of nomination to such benefices as happened to fall vacant during six months in the year, leaving the disposal of the remainder to the princes and other legal patrons⁴².

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1520.

BUT the court of Rome easily found expedients for eluding an agreement which put such restraints on its power. The practice of reserving certain benefices in every country to the Pope's immediate nomination, which had been long known, and often complained of, was extended far beyond its ancient bounds. All the benefices possessed by Cardinals, or any of the

The expedients for restraining this power of the Popes ineffectual.

⁴² F. Paul, Hist. of Eccles. Benef. 204. Gold. Constit. Imper. i. 408.

BOOK II. numerous officers in the Roman court; those
 1520. held by persons who happened to die at Rome, or within forty miles of that city on their journey to or from it; those which became vacant by translation, with many others, were included in the number of *reserved* benefices; Julius II. and Leo, stretching the matter to the utmost, often collated to benefices where the right of reservation had not been declared, on pretence of having mentally reserved this privilege to themselves. The right of reservation, however, even with this extension, had certain limits, as it could be exercised only where the benefice was actually vacant; and therefore, in order to render the exertion of papal power unbounded, *expectative* *graces*, or mandates nominating a person to succeed to a benefice upon the first vacancy that should happen, were brought into use. By means of these, Germany was filled with persons depending on the court of Rome, from which they received such reversionary grants; princes were defrauded, in a great degree, of their prerogatives; the rights of lay-patrons were pre-occupied, and rendered almost entirely vain⁴³.

⁴³ Centum Gravam. §. 21. Fascic. Rer. Expet. &c. 334. Gold. Const. Imper. i. 391. 404, 405. F. Paul, Hist. of Eccl. Benef. 167. 199.

THE manner in which these extraordinary powers were exercised, rendered them still more odious and intolerable. The avarice and extortion of the court of Rome, were become excessive almost to a proverb. The sale of benefices was so notorious, that no pains were taken to conceal, or to disguise it. Companies of merchants openly purchased the benefices of different districts in Germany from the Pope's ministers, and retailed them at an advanced price⁴⁴. Pious men beheld with deep regret these simoniacal transactions, so unworthy the ministers of a christian church; while politicians complained of the loss sustained by the exportation of so much wealth in that irreligious traffick.

BOOK II.
1520.
Venality of
the court of
Rome.

THE sums, indeed, which the court of Rome drew by its stated and legal impositions from all the countries acknowledging its authority, were so considerable, that it is not strange that Princes, as well as their subjects, murmured at the smallest addition made to them by unnecessary or illicit means. Every ecclesiastical person, upon his admission to his benefice, paid *annats*, or one year's rent of his living, to the Pope; and as that tax was exacted with great rigour, its amount was prodigious. To this must be added, the frequent demands made by the Popes

It drained
other coun-
tries of their
wealth.

⁴⁴ Fascic. Rer. Expet. i. 359.

BOOK II, of free gifts from the clergy, together with the
 1520 extraordinary levies of tenths upon ecclesiastical
 benefices, on pretence of expeditions against the
 Turks, seldom intended, or carried into execu-
 tion; and from the whole, the vast proportion
 of the revenues of the church, which flowed con-
 tinually to Rome, may be estimated.

The united
 effect of all
 these causes.

SUCH were the dissolute manners, the exor-
 bitant wealth, the vast power and privileges of
 the clergy before the Reformation; such the op-
 pressive rigour of that dominion which the Popes
 had established over the christian world; and
 such the sentiments concerning them, that pre-
 vailed in Germany, at the beginning of the six-
 teenth century. Nor has this sketch been copied
 from the controversial writers of that age, who,
 in the heat of disputation, may be suspected of
 having exaggerated the errors, or of having mis-
 represented the conduct of that church which they
 laboured to overturn; it is formed upon more au-
 thentic evidence, upon the memorials and re-
 monstrances of the Imperial diets, coolly enume-
 rating the grievances under which the Empire
 groaned, in order to obtain the redress of them.
 Dissatisfaction must have risen to a great height
 among the people, when these grave assemblies
 expressed themselves with such acrimony; and if
 they demanded the abolition of those enormities
 with so much vehemence, the people, we may be

assured, uttered their sentiments and desires in Book II. bolder and more virulent language. 1520.

To men thus prepared for shaking off the yoke, Luther addressed himself with certainty of success. As they had long felt its weight, and had born it with impatience, they listened with joy to the first proposal for procuring deliverance. Hence proceeded the fond and eager reception that his doctrines met with, and the rapidity with which they spread over all the provinces of Germany. Even the impetuosity and fierceness of Luther's spirit, his confidence in asserting his own opinions, and the arrogance as well as contempt wherewith he treated all who differed from him, which, in ages of greater moderation and refinement, have been reckoned defects in the character of that reformer, did not appear excessive to his contemporaries, whose minds were strongly agitated by those interesting controversies which he carried on, and who had themselves endured the rigour of papal tyranny, and seen the corruptions in the church against which he exclaimed.

NOR were they offended at that gross scurrility with which his polemical writings are filled, or at the low buffoonery which he sometimes introduced into his gravest discourses. No dispute was managed in those rude times without a large portion of the former; and the latter

BOOK II. was common, even on the most solemn occasions, and in treating the most sacred subjects. So far were either of these from doing hurt to his cause, that invective and ridicule had some effect, as well as more laudable arguments, in exposing the errors of popery, and in determining mankind to abandon them.

The effects of the invention of printing on the progress of the Reformation.

BESIDE all these causes of Luther's rapid progress, arising from the nature of his enterprise, and the juncture at which he undertook it, he reaped advantage from some foreign and adventitious circumstances, the beneficial influence of which none of his forerunners in the same course had enjoyed. Among these may be reckoned the invention of the art of printing, about half a century before his time. By this fortunate discovery, the facility of acquiring and of propagating knowledge was wonderfully increased, and Luther's books which must otherwise have made their way slowly and with uncertainty into distant countries, spread at once all over Europe. Nor were they read only by the rich and the learned, who alone had access to books before that invention; they got into the hands of the people, who, upon this appeal to them as judges, ventured to examine and to reject many doctrines, which they had formerly been required to believe, without being taught to understand them.

THE revival of learning at the same period, BOOK II.
 was a circumstance extremely friendly to the 1520.
 Reformation. The study of the ancient Greek And of the
 and Roman authors, and the discovery of that revival of
 liberal and sound knowledge which they con- learning.
 tain, roused the human mind from the profound
 lethargy in which it had been sunk during several
 centuries. Mankind seem, at that period, to
 have recovered the powers of inquiring and of
 thinking, faculties of which they had long lost
 the use; and fond of the acquisition, they exer-
 cised them with great boldness upon all subjects.
 They were not now afraid of entering an un-
 common path, or of embracing a new opinion.
 Novelty appears rather to have been a recom-
 mendation of a doctrine; and instead of being
 startled when the daring hand of Luther drew
 aside, or tore the veil which covered established
 errors, the genius of the age applauded and
 aided the attempt. Luther, though a stranger
 to elegance in taste or composition, zealously
 promoted the cultivation of ancient literature;
 and sensible of its being necessary in studying
 the scriptures, he himself had acquired confi-
 derable knowledge both in the Hebrew and
 Greek tongues. Melancthon, and some other
 of his disciples, were eminent proficient in the
 polite arts; and as the same barbarous monks
 who opposed the introduction of learning into

BOOK II. Germany, set themselves with equal fierceness
 1520. against Luther's opinions, and declared the good
 reception of the latter to be the effect of the
 progress which the former had made, the cause
 of learning and of the Reformation came to be
 considered as closely connected, and, in every
 country, had the same friends and the same ene-
 mies. This enabled the reformers to carry on
 the contest at first with great superiority. Eru-
 dition, industry, accuracy of sentiment, purity of
 composition, even wit and raillery, were wholly
 on their side, and triumphed with ease over illi-
 terate monks, whose rude arguments, expressed
 in a perplexed and barbarous style, were found
 insufficient for the defence of a system, the er-
 rors of which, all the art and ingenuity of its
 later and more learned advocates have not been
 able to palliate.

Luther aided
 by per-
 sons who
 did not wish
 his success.

THAT bold spirit of inquiry, which the revi-
 val of learning excited in Europe, was so favour-
 able to the Reformation, that Luther was aided
 in his progress, and mankind were prepared to
 embrace his doctrines, by persons who did not
 wish success to his undertaking. The greater
 part of the ingenious men who applied to the
 study of ancient literature, towards the close of
 the fifteenth century, and the beginning of the
 sixteenth, though they had no intention, and

perhaps no wish, to overturn the established system of religion, had discovered the absurdity of many tenets and practices authorized by the church, and perceived the futility of those arguments, by which illiterate monks endeavoured to defend them. Their contempt of these advocates for the received errors, led them frequently to expose the opinions which they supported, and to ridicule their ignorance with great freedom and severity. By this, men were prepared for the more serious attacks made upon them by Luther, and their reverence both for the doctrines and persons against whom he inveighed, was considerably abated. This was particularly the case in Germany. When the first attempts were made to revive a taste for ancient learning in that country, the Ecclesiasticks there, who were still more ignorant than their brethren on the other side of the Alps, set themselves to oppose its progress with more active zeal; and the patrons of the new studies, in return, attacked them with greater violence. In the writings of Reuchlin, Hutten, and the other revivers of learning in Germany, the corruptions of the church of Rome are censured with an acrimony of style, little inferior to that of Luther himself⁴⁵.

⁴⁵ Gerdesius, Hist. Evang. Renov. vol. i. p. 141. 157. Seckend. lib. i. p. 103. Van der Hardt, Hist. Literar. Reform. pars ii.

BOOK II.

1520.

Particularly
Erasmus.

FROM the same cause proceeded the frequent strictures of Erasmus upon the errors of the church, as well as upon the ignorance and vices of the clergy. His reputation and authority were so high in Europe at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and his works were read with such universal admiration, that the effect of these deserves to be mentioned as one of the circumstances which contributed most considerably towards Luther's success. Erasmus, having been destined for the church, and trained up in the knowledge of ecclesiastical literature, applied himself more to theological inquiries than any of the revivers of learning in that age. His acute judgment and vast erudition enabled him to discover many errors, both in the doctrine and worship of the Romish church. Some of these he confuted with great solidity of reasoning, and force of eloquence. Others he treated as objects of ridicule, and turned against them that irresistible torrent of popular and satirical wit, of which he had the command. There was scarcely any opinion or practice of the Romish church which Luther endeavoured to reform, but what had been previously animadverted upon by Erasmus, and had afforded him subject either of censure or of raillery. When Luther first began his attack upon the church, Erasmus seemed to applaud his conduct; he courted the friendship of several of his disciples and patrons, and con-

demned the behaviour and spirit of his adversaries ⁴⁶. He concurred openly with him in inveighing against the school-divines, as the teachers of a system equally unedifying and obscure. He joined him in endeavouring to turn the attention of men to the study of the holy scriptures, as the only standard of religious truth ⁴⁷.

VARIOUS circumstances, however, prevented Erasmus from holding the same course with Luther. The natural timidity of his temper; his want of that force of mind which alone can prompt a man to assume the character of a reformer ⁴⁸; his excessive deference for persons in high station; his dread of losing the pensions and other emoluments, which their liberality had conferred upon him; his extreme love of peace, and hopes of reforming abuses gradually, and by

⁴⁶ Seckend. lib. i. p. 40. 96.

⁴⁷ Van der Hardt, *Histor. Literar. Reform.* pars. i. Gerdes. *Hist. Evang. Renov.* i. 147.

⁴⁸ Erasmus himself is candid enough to acknowledge this: "Luther," says he, "has given us many a wholesome doctrine, and many a good counsel. I wish he had not defeated the effect of them by intolerable faults. But if he had written every thing in the most unexceptionable manner, I had no inclination to die for the sake of truth. Every man hath not the courage requisite to make a martyr; and I am afraid, that if I were put to the trial, I should imitate St. Peter." *Epist. Erasmi in Jortin's Life of Erasmi.* vol. i. 273.

BOOK II. gentle methods ; all concurred in determining
 1520. him not only to repress and to moderate the
 zeal, with which he had once been animated
 against the errors of the church ⁴⁹ ; but to assume
 the character of a mediator between Luther and
 his opponents. But though Erasmus soon began
 to censure Luther as too daring and impetuous,
 and was at last prevailed upon to write against
 him, he must, nevertheless, be considered as his
 forerunner and auxiliary in this war upon the
 church. He first scattered the seeds which Luther
 cherished and brought to maturity. His raillery and
 oblique censures prepared the way for Luther's
 invectives and more direct attacks. In this light
 Erasmus appeared to the zealous defenders of the
 Romish church in his own times ⁵⁰. In this light
 he must be considered by every person conversant
 in the history of that period.

IN this long enumeration of the circumstances
 which combined in favouring the progress of
 Luther's opinions, or in weakening the resistance
 of his adversaries, I have avoided entering into
 any discussion of the theological doctrines of
 popery, and have not attempted to shew how
 repugnant they are to the spirit of Christianity,

⁴⁹ Jortin's Life of Erasmus, vol. i. p. 258.

⁵⁰ Van der Hardt, Hist. Literar. Reform. pars i. p. 2.

and how destitute of any foundation in reason, in the word of God, or in the practice of the primitive church, leaving those topicks entirely to ecclesiastical historians, to whose province they peculiarly belong. But when we add the effect of these religious considerations to the influence of political causes, it is obvious that the united operation of both on the human mind, must have been sudden and irresistible. Though, to Luther's contemporaries, who were too near perhaps to the scene, or too deeply interested in it, to trace causes with accuracy, or to examine them with coolness, the rapidity with which his opinions spread, appeared to be so unaccountable, that some of them imputed it to a certain uncommon and malignant position of the stars, which scattered the spirit of giddiness and innovation over the world ⁵¹, it is evident, that the success of the Reformation was the natural effect of many powerful causes prepared by peculiar providence, and happily conspiring to that end. This attempt to investigate these causes, and to throw light on an event so singular and important, will not, perhaps, be deemed an unnecessary digression. — I return from it to the course of the history.

THE Diet at Worms conducted its deliberations with that slow formality peculiar to such

BOOK II.
1520.

Proceedings
of the Diet
at Worms.

1521.

⁵¹ Jovii Historia, Lut. 1553. fol. p. 134.

BOOK II. 1521. assemblies. Much time was spent in establishing some regulations with regard to the internal police of the Empire. The jurisdiction of the Imperial chamber was confirmed, and the forms of its proceeding rendered more fixed and regular. A council of regency was appointed to assist Ferdinand in the government of the Empire during his brother's absence; which, from the extent of the Emperor's dominions, as well as the multiplicity of his affairs, was an event that might be frequently expected⁵². The state of religion was then taken into consideration. There were not wanting some plausible reasons which might have induced Charles to have declared himself the protector of Luther's cause, or at least to have connived at its progress. If he had possessed no other dominions but those which belonged to him in Germany, and no other crown besides the Imperial, he might have been disposed perhaps to favour a man, who asserted so boldly the privileges and immunities for which the Empire had struggled so long with the Popes. But the vast and dangerous schemes which Francis I. was forming against Charles, made it necessary for him to regulate his conduct by views more extensive than those which would have suited a German

The Emperor's views with regard to Luther.

⁵² Pont. Heuter. Rer. Austr. lib. viii. c. 11. p. 195. Pfeffel, Abrégé Chronol. p. 598.

prince;

prince; and it being of the utmost importance to secure the Pope's friendship, this determined him to treat Luther with great severity, as the most effectual method of soothing Leo into a concurrence with his measures. His eagerness to accomplish this, rendered him not unwilling to gratify the papal legates in Germany, who insisted that, without any delay or formal deliberation, the diet ought to condemn a man whom the Pope had already excommunicated as an incorrigible heretick. Such an abrupt manner of proceeding, however, being deemed unprecedented and unjust by the members of the diet, they made a point of Luther's appearing in person, and declaring whether he adhered or not to those opinions, which had drawn upon him the censures of the church ⁵³. Not only the Emperor, but all the princes through whose territories he had to pass, granted him a safe-conduct; and Charles wrote to him at the same time, requiring his immediate attendance on the diet, and renewing his promises of protection from any injury or violence ⁵⁴. Luther did not hesitate one moment about yielding obedience, and set out for Worms, attended by the herald who had brought the Emperor's letter and safe-conduct. While on his journey, many of his friends, whom the fate of Huss, under similar

He is summoned to appear.

March 6.

⁵³ P. Mart. Ep. 722.
VOL. II.

⁵⁴ Luth. Oper. ii. 411.
N

BOOK II. circumstances, and notwithstanding the same
 1521. security of an Imperial safe-conduct, filled with
 His un- solicitude, advised and intreated him not to rush
 daunted wantonly into the midst of danger. But Lu-
 spirit. ther, superior to such terrors, silenced them
 with this reply, "I am lawfully called," said
 he, "to appear in that city, and thither will I
 go in the name of the Lord, though as many
 devils as there are tiles on the houses, were
 there combined against me".

His recep-
 tion at
 Worms.

THE reception which he met with at Worms, was such as he might have reckoned a full reward of all his labours, if vanity and the love of applause had been the principles by which he was influenced. Greater crowds assembled to behold him, than had appeared at the Emperor's publick entry; his apartments were daily filled with princes and personages of the highest rank⁵⁵, and he was treated with all the respect paid to those who possess the power of directing the understanding and sentiments of other men; an homage, more sincere, as well as more flattering, than any which pre-eminence in birth or condition can command. At his appearance before the diet, he behaved with great decency, and with equal firmness. He readily acknow-

The man-
 ner of his
 appearance.

⁵⁵ Luth. Oper. ii. 412.

⁵⁶ Seckend. 156. Luth. Oper. ii. 414.

ledged an excess of vehemence and acrimony in his controversial writings, but refused to retract his opinions unless he were convinced of their falsehood; or to consent to their being tried by any other rule than the word of God. When neither threats nor entreaties could prevail on him to depart from this resolution, some of the ecclesiasticks proposed to imitate the example of the council of Constance, and by punishing the author of this pestilent heresy, who was now in their power, to deliver the church at once from such an evil. But the members of the diet refusing to expose the German integrity to fresh reproach by a second violation of public faith; and Charles being no less unwilling to bring a stain upon the beginning of his administration by such an ignominious action, Luther was permitted to depart in safety⁵⁷. A few days after he left the city, a severe edict^{April 26. Edict against him.} was published in the Emperor's name, and by authority of the diet, depriving him, as an obstinate and excommunicated criminal, of all the privileges which he enjoyed as a subject of the Empire, forbidding any prince to harbour or protect him, and requiring all to concur in seizing his person as soon as the term specified in his safe-conduct was expired⁵⁸.

⁵⁷ F. Paul, Hist. of Counc. p. 13. Seckend. 160.

⁵⁸ Gold. Const. Imperial. ii. 408.

BOOK II.

1521.
He is seized
and conceal-
ed at Wart-
burgh.

BUT this rigorous decree had no considerable effect, the execution of it being prevented, partly by the multiplicity of occupations which the commotions in Spain, together with the wars in Italy and the Low Countries, created to the Emperor; and partly by a prudent precaution employed by the Elector of Saxony, Luther's faithful patron. As Luther, on his return from Worms, was passing near Altenstein in Thuringia, a number of horsemen in masks rushed suddenly out of a wood, where the Elector had appointed them to lie in wait for him, and surrounding his company, carried him, after dismissing all his attendants, to Wartburgh, a strong castle not far distant. There the Elector ordered him to be supplied with every thing necessary or agreeable, but the place of his retreat was carefully concealed, until the fury of the present storm against him began to abate, upon a change in the political situation of Europe. In this solitude, where he remained nine months, and which he frequently called his Patmos, after the name of that island to which the apostle John was banished, he exerted his usual vigour and industry in defence of his doctrines, or in confutation of his adversaries, publishing several treatises, which revived the spirit of his followers, astonished to a great

degree, and disheartened at the sudden disappearance of their leader. Book II.
1521.

DURING his confinement, his opinions continued to gain ground, acquiring the ascendant in almost every city of Saxony. At this time, the Augustinians of Wittemberg, with the approbation of the university, and the connivance of the Elector, ventured upon the first step towards an alteration in the established forms of publick worship, by abolishing the celebration of private masses, and by giving the cup as well as the bread to the laity, in administering the sacrament of the Lord's supper. Progress of his opinions.

WHATEVER consolation the courage and success of his disciples, or the progress of his doctrines in his own country, afforded Luther in his retreat, he there received information of two events, which considerably damped his joy, as they seemed to lay insuperable obstacles in the way of propagating his principles in the two most powerful kingdoms of Europe. One was, a solemn decree, condemning his opinions, published by the university of Paris, the most ancient, and at that time, the most respectable of the learned societies in Europe. The other was, the answer written to his book concerning the Babylonish captivity by Henry VIII. of Decree of the university of Paris condemning them.
Henry VIII. writes against them.

BOOK II. 1521. England. That young monarch, having been educated under the eye of a suspicious father, who, in order to prevent his attending to business, kept him occupied in the study of literature, still retained a greater love of learning, and stronger habits of application to it, than are common among princes of so active a disposition, and such violent passions. Being ambitious of acquiring glory of every kind, as well as zealously attached to the Romish church, and highly exasperated against Luther, who had treated Thomas Aquinas, his favourite author, with great contempt, Henry did not think it enough to exert his royal authority in opposing the opinions of the reformer, but resolved likewise to combat them with scholastick weapons. With this view he published his treatise on the Seven Sacraments, which, though forgotten at present, as books of controversy always are, when the occasion that produced them is past, is not destitute of polemical ingenuity and acuteness, and was represented by the flattery of his courtiers to be a work of such wonderful science and learning, as exalted him no less above other authors in merit, than he was distinguished among them by his rank. The Pope, to whom it was presented with the greatest formality in full consistory, spoke of it in such terms, as if it had been dictated by immediate inspiration;

and as a testimony of the gratitude of the church Book II.
 for his extraordinary zeal, conferred on him the 1521.
 title of *Defender of the Faith*, an appellation
 which Henry soon forfeited in the opinion of
 those from whom he derived it, and which is
 still retained by his successors, though the avowed
 enemies of those opinions, by contending for
 which he merited that honourable distinction.
 Luther, who was not overawed either by the Luther's
 authority of the University, or the dignity of reply to
 the Monarch, soon published his animadversions both.
 on both in a style no less vehement and severe,
 than he would have used in confuting his
 meanest antagonist. This indecent boldness,
 instead of shocking his contemporaries, was
 considered by them as a new proof of his un-
 daunted spirit. A controversy managed by dis-
 putants so illustrious, drew more general atten-
 tion; and such was the contagion of the spirit
 of innovation, diffused through Europe in that
 age, and so powerful the evidence which accom-
 panied the doctrines of the reformers on their
 first publication, that, in spite both of the civil
 and ecclesiastical powers combined against them,
 they daily gained converts both in France and
 in England.

How desirous soever the Emperor might be State of af-
 to put a stop to Luther's progress, he was often fairs be-

BOOK II. obliged, during the diet at Worms, to turn his
1521, thoughts to matters still more interesting, and
between which demanded more immediate attention. A
Charles and Francis, war was ready to break out between him and
Francis in Navarre, in the Low Countries, and
in Italy; and it required either great address to
avert the danger, or timely and wise precautions
to resist it. Every circumstance, at that juncture,
inclined Charles to prefer the former measure.
Spain was torn with intestine commotions. In Italy,
he had not hitherto secured the assistance of any one ally.
In the Low-Countries, his subjects trembled at the thoughts
of a rupture with France, the fatal effects of which
on their commerce they had often experienced. From these
considerations, as well as from the solicitude of Chievres,
during his whole administration, to maintain peace between
the two monarchs, proceeded the Emperor's backwardness
to commence hostilities. But Francis and his ministers did
not breathe the same pacific spirit. He easily foresaw that
concord could not long subsist, where interest, emulation,
and ambition conspired to dissolve it; and he possessed
several advantages which flattered him with the hopes
of surprising his rival, and of overpowering him before
he could put himself in a posture of defence. The French
King's dominions, from their compact situation,

from their subjection to the royal authority, from the genius of the people, fond of war, and attached to their sovereign by every tie of duty and affection, were more capable of a great or sudden effort, than the larger but disunited territories of the Emperor, in one part of which the people were in arms against his ministers, and in all his prerogative was more limited than that of his rival. Book II.
1521.

THE only princes, in whose power it was to have kept down, or to have extinguished this flame on its first appearance, either neglected to exert themselves, or were active in kindling and spreading it. Henry VIII. though he affected to assume the name of mediator, and both parties made frequent appeals to him, had laid aside the impartiality which suited that character. Wolsey, by his artifices, had estranged him so entirely from the French King, that he secretly fomented the discord which he ought to have composed, and waited only for some decent pretext to join his arms to the Emperor's⁵⁹. Henri VIII.
favours the
Emperor.

LEO'S endeavours to excite discord between the Emperor and Francis were more avowed, and had greater influence. Not only his duty, as the common father of Christendom, but his Leo hesi-
tates be-
tween the
rivals.

⁵⁹ Herbert. Fiddes's Life of Wolsey, 258.

BOOK II. interest as an Italian potentate, called upon the
1521. Pope to act as the guardian of the publick tranquillity, and to avoid any measure that might overturn the system, which after much bloodshed, and many negociations, was now established in Italy. Accordingly Leo, who instantly discerned the propriety of this conduct, had formed a scheme upon Charles's promotion to the Imperial dignity, of rendering himself the umpire between the rivals, by soothing them alternately, while he entered into no close confederacy with either; and a Pontiff less ambitious and enterprizing, might have saved Europe from many calamities by adhering to this plan. But this high-spirited prelate, who was still in the prime of life, longed passionately to distinguish his pontificate by some splendid action. He was impatient to wash away the infamy of having lost Parma and Placentia, the acquisition of which reflected so much lustre on the administration of his predecessor Julius. He beheld, with the indignation natural to Italians in that age, the dominion which the Transalpine, or as they, in imitation of the Roman arrogance, denominated them, the barbarous nations, had attained in Italy. He flattered himself, that after assisting the one monarch to strip the other of his possessions in that country, he might find means of driving out the victor in

his turn, and acquire the glory of restoring Italy to the liberty and happiness which it enjoyed before the invasion of Charles VIII. when every state was governed by its native princes, or its own laws, and unacquainted with a foreign yoke. Extravagant and chimerical as this project may seem, it was the favourite object of almost every Italian eminent for genius or enterprize during great part of the sixteenth century. They vainly hoped, that by superior skill in the artifices and refinements of negotiation, they should be able to baffle the efforts of nations, ruder indeed than themselves, but much more powerful and warlike. So alluring was the prospect of this to Leo, that notwithstanding the gentleness of his disposition, and his fondness for the pleasures of a refined and luxurious ease, he hastened to disturb the peace of Europe, and to plunge himself in a dangerous war, with an impetuosity scarcely inferior to that of the turbulent and martial Julius⁶⁰.

It was in Leo's power, however, to chuse which of the monarchs he would take for his confederate against the other. Both of them courted his friendship; he wavered for some time between them, and at first concluded an alliance with Francis. The object of this treaty

⁶⁰ Guic. lib. xiv. p. 173.

BOOK II. 1521. was the conquest of Naples, which the confederates agreed to divide between them. The Pope, it is probable, flattered himself, that the brisk and active spirit of Francis, seconded by the same qualities in his subjects, would get the start of the slow and wary councils of the Emperor, and that they might over-run with ease this detached portion of his dominions, ill provided for defence, and always the prey of every invader. But whether the French King, by discovering too openly his suspicions of Léo's sincerity, disappointed these hopes; whether the treaty was only an artifice of the Pope's, to cover the more serious negociations which he was carrying on with Charles; whether he was enticed by the prospect of reaping greater advantages from an union with that prince; or whether he was soothed by the zeal which Charles had manifested for the honour of the church in condemning Luther; certain it is, that he soon deserted his new ally, and made overtures of friendship, though with great secrecy, to the Emperor⁶¹. Don John Manuel, the same man who had been the favourite of Philip, and whose address had disconcerted all Ferdinand's schemes, having been delivered, upon the death of that monarch, from the prison to which he had been confined, was now the Imperial ambassador at

Concludes a
treaty with
Charles.

⁶¹ Guic. lib. xiv. p. 175. Mém. de Bellay, Par. 1573. p. 24.

Rome, and fully capable of improving this favourable disposition in the Pope to his master's advantage ⁶². To him the conduct of this negotiation was entirely committed; and being carefully concealed from Chievres, whose aversion from a war with France would have prompted him to retard or defeat it, an alliance between the Pope and Emperor was quickly concluded ⁶³. The chief articles in this treaty, which proved the foundation of Charles's grandeur in Italy, were, that the Pope and Emperor should join their forces to expel the French out of the Milanese, the possession of which should be granted to Francis Sforza, a son of Ludovico the Moor, who had resided at Trent since the time his brother Maximilian had been dispossessed of his dominions by the French King; that Parma and Placentia should be restored to the church; that the Emperor should assist the Pope in conquering Ferrara; that the annual tribute paid by the kingdom of Naples to the Holy See should be increased; that the Emperor should take the family of Medici under his protection; that he should grant to the Cardinal of that name a pension of ten thousand ducats upon the archbishoprick of Toledo; and settle lands

⁶² Jovii Vita Leonis, lib. iv. p. 89. ⁶³ Guic. l. xiv. 181. Mém. de Bellay, p. 24. Du Mont, Corps Diplom. tom. iv. suppl. p. 96.

BOOK II. in the kingdom of Naples to the same value
1521. upon Alexander the natural son of Lorenzo de
Medici.

Death of
Chievres,
the Empe-
ror's favou-
rite and
minister.

THE transacting an affair of such moment without his participation, appeared to Chievres so decisive a proof of his having lost the ascendant which he had hitherto maintained over the mind of his pupil, that his chagrin on this account, added to the melancholy with which he was overwhelmed on taking a view of the many and unavoidable calamities attending a war against France, is said to have shortened his days⁶⁴. But though this, perhaps, may be only the conjecture of historians, fond of attributing every thing that befalls illustrious personages to extraordinary causes, and of ascribing even their diseases and death to the effect of political passions, which are more apt to disturb the enjoyment than to abridge the period of life, it is certain that his death, at this critical juncture, extinguished all hopes of avoiding a rupture with France⁶⁵. This event, too, delivered Charles from a minister, to whose authority he had been accustomed from his infancy to submit with such implicit deference, as checked and depressed his genius, and retained him in a state of pupilage, unbe-

⁶⁴ Belcarii Comment. de reb. Gallic. 483.

⁶⁵ P. Heuter. Rer. Austriac. lib. viii. c. 11. p. 197.

coming his years as well as his rank; but this restraint being removed, the native powers of his mind were permitted to unfold themselves, and he began to display such great talents, both in council and in execution, as exceeded the hopes of his contemporaries ⁶⁶, and command the admiration of posterity.

BOOK II.
1521.

WHILE the Pope and Emperor were preparing, in consequence of their secret alliance, to attack Milan, hostilities commenced in another quarter. The children of John d'Albert, King of Navarre, having often demanded the restitution of their hereditary dominions, in terms of the treaty of Noyon, and Charles having as often eluded their requests upon very frivolous pretexts, Francis thought himself authorized by that treaty to assist the exiled family. The juncture appeared extremely favourable for such an enterprize. Charles was at a distance from that part of his dominions; the troops usually stationed there, had been called away to quell the commotions in Spain; the Spanish malecontents warmly solicited him to invade Navarre ⁶⁷, in which a considerable faction was ready to declare for the descendants of their ancient monarchs. But in order to avoid, as much as possible, giving offence to the Emperor, or

Commence-
ment of
hostilities
in Navarre.

⁶⁶ P. Mart. Ep. 735.

⁶⁷ P. Mart. Ep. 721.

BOOK II. King of England, Francis directed forces to be
 1521. levied, and the war to be carried on, not in his
 own name, but in that of Henry d'Albert. The
 conduct of these troops was committed to An-
 drew de Foix, de l'Esparre a young nobleman,
 whom his near alliance to the unfortunate King
 whose battles he was to fight, and what was still
 more powerful, the interest of his sister, madame
 de Chateaubriand, Francis's favourite mistress,
 recommended to that important trust, for which
 he had neither talents nor experience. But as
 there was no army in the field to oppose him,
 he became master, in a few days, of the whole
 kingdom of Navarre, without meeting with any
 obstruction but from the citadel of Pampeluna.
 The additional works to this fortress, begun by
 Ximenes, were still unfinished; nor would its
 slight resistance have deserved notice, if Ignatio
 Loyola, a Biscayan gentleman, had not been
 dangerously wounded in its defence. During
 the progress of a lingering cure, Loyola hap-
 pened to have no other amusement than what
 he found in reading the lives of the saints:
 The effect of this on his mind, naturally enthu-
 siastic, but ambitious and daring, was to inspire
 him with such a desire of emulating the glory
 of these fabulous worthies of the Romish church,
 as led him into the wildest and most extravagant
 adventures, which terminated at last in institut-
 ing the society of Jesuits, the most political and
 best

best regulated of all the monastick orders, and from which mankind have derived more advantages, and received greater hurt, than from any other of these religious fraternities.

BOOK II.

1521.

IF, upon the reduction of Pampeluna, L'Esparre had been satisfied with taking proper precautions for securing his conquest, the kingdom of Navarre might still have remained annexed to the crown of France, in reality, as well as in title. But, pushed on by youthful ardour, and encouraged by Francis, who was too apt to be dazzled with success, he ventured to pass the confines of Navarre, and to lay siege to Logroño, a small town in Castile. This roused the Castilians, who had hitherto beheld the rapid progress of his arms with great unconcern; and the dissensions in that kingdom being almost composed, both parties exerted themselves with emulation in defence of their country; the one, that it might efface the memory of past misconduct by its present zeal; the other, that it might add to the merit of having subdued the Emperor's rebellious subjects, that of repulsing his foreign enemies. The sudden advance of their troops, together with the gallant defence made by the inhabitants of Logroño, obliged the French general to abandon his rash enterprize. The Spanish army, which increased every day, harassing him during his retreat, he, instead of

They enter
Castile.

BOOK II. taking shelter under the cannon of Pampeluna,
 1521. or waiting the arrival of some troops which were
 They are marching to join him, attacked the Spaniards,
 defeated, though far superior to him in number, with
 and driven out of Na- great impetuosity, but with so little conduct,
 varre. that his forces were totally routed, he himself,
 together with his principal officers, was taken
 prisoner, and Spain recovered possession of Na-
 varre in still shorter time than the French had
 spent in the conquest of it⁶⁸.

Hostilities
 begun in
 the Low
 Countries.

WHILE Francis endeavoured to justify his
 invasion of Navarre, by carrying it on in the
 name of Henry D' Albert, he had recourse to an
 artifice much of the same kind, in attacking an-
 other part of the Emperor's territories. Robert
 de la Mark, lord of the small but independent
 territory of Bouillon, situated on the frontiers
 of Luxemburgh and Champagne, having aban-
 doned Charles's service on account of an en-
 croachment which the Aulick council had made
 on his jurisdiction, and having thrown himself
 upon France for protection, was easily persuaded,
 in the heat of his resentment, to send a herald to
 Worms, and to declare war against the Emperor
 in form. Such extravagant insolence in a petty
 prince surprized Charles, and appeared to him
 a certain proof of his having received promises
 of powerful support from the French King.

⁶⁸ Mém. de Bellay, p. 21. P. Mart. Ep. 726.

The justness of this conclusion soon became evident. Robert entered Luxemburgh with troops levied in France, by the King's connivance, though seemingly in contradiction to his orders, and after ravaging the open country, laid siege to Vireton. Of this Charles complained loudly, as a direct violation of the peace subsisting between the two crowns, and summoned Henry VIII. in terms of the treaty concluded at London, in the year one thousand five hundred and eighteen, to turn his arms against Francis as the first aggressor. Francis pretended that he was not answerable for Robert's conduct, whose army fought under his own standards, and in his own quarrel; and affirmed, that, contrary to an express prohibition, he had seduced some subjects of France into his service; but Henry paid so little regard to this evasion, that the French King, rather than irritate a prince whom he still hoped to gain, commanded De la Mark to disband his troops⁶⁹.

THE Emperor, mean while, was assembling an army to chastise Robert's insolence. Twenty thousand men, under the count of Nassau, invaded his little territories, and in a few days became masters of every place in them but Sedan. After making him feel so sensibly the weight of

⁶⁹ Mém. de Bellay, p. 22, &c. Mém. de Fleuranges, p. 335, &c.

BOOK II. his master's indignation, Nassau advanced to-
 1521. wards the frontiers of France; and Charles
 knowing that he might presume so far on Henry's
 partiality in his favour, as not to be over-awed
 by the same fears which had restrained Francis,
 ordered his general to besiege Mouson. The
 cowardice of the garrison having obliged the go-
 vernor to surrender almost without resistance,
 Nassau invested Mezieres, a place at that time
 of no considerable strength, but so advantage-
 ously situated, that by getting possession of it,
 the Imperial army might have penetrated into
 the heart of Champagne, in which there was
 hardly any other town capable of obstructing its
 progress. Happily for France, its monarch,
 sensible of the importance of this fortress, and
 of the danger to which it was exposed, com-
 mitted the defence of it to the chevalier Bayard,
 distinguished among his contemporaries by the
 appellation of *The Knight without fear, and with-
 out reproach*⁷⁰. This man, whose prowess in com-
 bat, whose punctilious honour and formal gal-
 lantry, bear a nearer resemblance, than any thing
 recorded in history, to the character ascribed to
 the heroes of chivalry, possessed all the talents
 which form a great general. These he had
 many occasions of exerting in the defence of
 Mezieres; partly by his valour, partly by his
 conduct, he protracted the siege to a great length,

Siege of
 Mezieres
 by the Im-
 perialists.

⁷⁰ Oeuvres de Brantome, tom. vi. 114.

and in the end obliged the Imperialists to raise it, with infamy and loss⁷¹. Francis, at the head of a numerous army, soon retook Moulon, and entering the Low Countries, made several conquests of small importance. In the neighbourhood of Valenciennes, through an excess of caution, an error with which he cannot be often charged, he lost an opportunity of cutting off the whole Imperial army⁷²; and what was still of more consequence, he disgusted the constable of Bourbon, by giving the command of the van to the duke D'Alençon, though this post of honour belonged to Bourbon, as a prerogative of his office.

Book II.

1521.

raised.

DURING these operations in the field, a congress was held at Calais under the mediation of Henry VIII. in order to bring all differences to an amicable issue; and if the intentions of the mediator had corresponded in any degree to his professions, it could hardly have failed of producing some good effect. Henry committed the sole management of the negociation, with unlimited powers, to Wolsey; and this choice alone was sufficient to have rendered it abortive. That prelate, bent on attaining the papal crown, the great object of his ambition, and ready to sacrifice every thing in order to gain the Emperor's

August.

Congress at Calais, under the mediation of England,

⁷¹ Mém. de Bellay, p. 25, &c.

⁷² P. Mart. Ep. 747. Mém. de Bellay, 35.

BOOK II. interest, was so little able to conceal his partiality, that, if Francis had not been well acquainted with his haughty and vindictive temper, he would have declined his mediation. Much time was spent in inquiring who had begun hostilities, which Wolsey affected to represent as the principal point; and by throwing the blame of that on Francis, he hoped to justify, by the treaty of London, any alliance into which his master should enter with Charles. The conditions on which hostilities might be terminated, came next to be considered; but with regard to these, the Emperor's proposals were such as discovered either that he was utterly averse to peace, or that he knew Wolsey would approve of whatever terms should be offered in his name. He demanded the restitution of the dutchy of Burgundy, a province, the possession of which would have given him access into the heart of the kingdom; and required a discharge of the homage due to the crown of France for the counties of Flanders and Artois, which none of his ancestors had ever refused, and which he had bound himself by the treaty of Noyon to renew. These terms, to which an high-spirited Prince would scarcely have listened, after the disasters of the most unfortunate war, Francis rejected with great disdain; and Charles shewing no inclination to comply with the more equal and moderate propositions of the French

without any effect.

monarch, that he should restore Navarre to its lawful Prince, and withdraw his troops from the siege of Tournay, the congress broke up without any other effect than that which attends unsuccessful negociations, the exasperating of the parties, whom it was intended to reconcile⁷³. BOOK II.
1521.

DURING the continuance of the congress, ^{League} ^{against} ^{France be-} ^{tween the} ^{Emperor} ^{and Henry} ^{VIII.} Wolsey, on pretence that the Emperor himself would be more willing to make reasonable concessions than his ministers, made an excursion to Bruges, to meet that monarch. He was received by Charles, who knew his vanity, with as much respect and magnificence as if he had been King of England. But instead of advancing the treaty of peace by this interview, Wolsey, in his master's name, concluded a league with the Emperor against Francis; in which it was stipulated, that Charles should invade France on the side of Spain, and Henry in Picardy, each with an army of forty thousand men; and that, in order to strengthen their union, Charles should espouse the Princess Mary, Henry's only child, and the apparent heir of his dominions⁷⁴. Henry produced no better reasons for this measure, equally unjust and impolitick, than the article in the treaty of London,

⁷³ P. Mart. Ep. 739. Herbert.

⁷⁴ Rymer, Foeder. xiii. Herbert.

BOOK II. by which he pretended that he was bound to
1521. take arms against the French King as the first aggressor; and the injury which he alleged Francis had done him, in permitting the Duke of Albany, the head of a faction in Scotland, which opposed his interest, to return into that kingdom. He was influenced, however, by other considerations. The advantages which accrued to his subjects from maintaining an exact neutrality, or the honour that resulted to himself from acting as the arbiter between the contending Princes, appeared to his youthful imagination so inconsiderable, when compared with the glory which Charles and Francis reaped from leading armies or conquering provinces, that he determined to remain no longer in a state of inactivity. Having once taken this resolution, his inducements to prefer an alliance with Charles were obvious. He had no claim upon any part of that Prince's dominions, most of which were so situated, that he could not attack them without great difficulty and disadvantage; whereas several maritime provinces of France had been long in the hands of the English monarchs, whose pretensions, even to the crown of that kingdom, were not as yet altogether forgotten; and the possession of Calais not only gave him easy access into some of these provinces, but in case of any disaster, af-

forded him a secure retreat. While Charles Book II.
 attacked France upon one frontier, Henry flat- 1521.
 tered himself that he would find little resistance
 on the other, and that the glory of re-annexing
 to the crown of England the ancient inheritance
 of its monarchs on the continent, was reserved
 for his reign. Wolsey artfully encouraged these
 vain hopes, which led his master into such mea-
 sures as were most subservient to his own secret
 schemes; and the English, whose hereditary
 animosity against the French was apt to rekindle
 on every occasion, did not disapprove of the
 martial spirit of their sovereign.

MEANWHILE the league between the Pope Hostilities
 and Emperor produced great effects in Italy, in Italy.
 and rendered Lombardy the chief theatre of
 war. There was, at that time, such contrariety
 between the character of the French and Ita-
 lians, that the latter submitted to the govern-
 ment of the former with greater impatience,
 than they expressed under the dominion of other
 foreigners. The phlegm of the Germans and
 gravity of the Spaniards, suited their jealous
 temper and ceremonious manners better than
 the French gaiety, too prone to gallantry, and
 too little attentive to decorum. Lewis XII.
 however, by the equity and gentleness of his
 administration, and by granting the Milanese

BOOK II. more extensive privileges than those they had
 1521. enjoyed under their native princes, had overcome, in a great measure, their prejudices, and reconciled them to the French government. Francis, on recovering that dutchy, did not imitate the example of his predecessor. Though too generous himself to oppress his people, his boundless confidence in his favourites, and his negligence in examining into the conduct of those whom he entrusted with power, emboldened them to venture upon many acts of oppression. The government of Milan was committed by him to Odet de Foix, Marshal de Lautrec, another brother of Madame de Chateau-Briand, an officer of great experience and reputation, but haughty, imperious, rapacious, and incapable either of listening to advice, or of bearing contradiction. His insolence and exactions totally alienated the affections of the Milanese from France, drove many of the considerable citizens into banishment, and forced others to retire for their own safety. Among the last was Jerome Morone, vice-chancellor of Milan, a man whose genius for intrigue and enterprize distinguished him in an age and country, where violent factions, as well as frequent revolutions, affording great scope for such talents, produced or called them forth in great abundance. He repaired to Francis

The Milanese disgusted with the French government.

Sforza, whose brother Maximilian he had betrayed; and suspecting the Pope's intention of attacking the Milanese, although his treaty with the Emperor was not yet made publick, he proposed to Leo, in name of Sforza, a scheme for surprizing several places in that dutchy by means of the exiles, who, from hatred to the French, and from attachment to their former masters, were ready for any desperate enterprize. Leo not only encouraged the attempt, but advanced a considerable sum towards the execution of it; and when through unforeseen accidents it failed of success in every part, he allowed the exiles, who had assembled in a body, to retire to Reggio, which belonged at that time to the church. The Marechal de Foix, who commanded at Milan in absence of his brother Lautrec, who was then in France, tempted with the hopes of catching at once as in a snare, all the avowed enemies of his master's government in that country, ventured to march into the ecclesiastical territories, and to invest Reggio. But the vigilance and good conduct of Guicciardini the historian, governor of that place, obliged the French general to abandon the enterprize with disgrace⁷⁵. Leo, on receiving this intelligence, with which he was highly pleased, as it furnished him a decent pretext for a rup-

June 24.

The Pope declares against Francis.

⁷⁵ Guic. lib. xiv. 183. Mém. de Bellay, p. 38, &c.

Book. II. 1521. ture with France, immediately assembled the consistory of Cardinals. After complaining bitterly of the hostile intentions of the French King, and magnifying the Emperor's zeal, for the church, of which he had given a recent proof by his proceedings against Luther, he declared that he was constrained in self-defence, and as the only expedient for the security of the ecclesiastical state, to join his arms to those of that Prince. For this purpose, he now pretended to conclude a treaty with Don John Manuel, although it had really been signed some months before this time; and he publicly excommunicated De Foix, as an impious invader of St. Peter's patrimony.

War in the
Milanese.

LEO had already begun preparations for war by taking into pay a considerable body of Swiss; but the Imperial troops advanced so slowly from Naples and Germany, that it was the middle of autumn before the army took the field under the command of Prosper Colonna, the most eminent of the Italian generals, whose extreme caution, the effect of long experience in the art of war, was opposed with great propriety to the impetuosity of the French. In the mean time, De Foix dispatched courier after courier to inform the King of the danger which was approaching. Francis, whose forces

were either employed in the Low Countries, or assembling on the frontiers of Spain, and who did not expect so sudden an attack in that quarter, sent ambassadors to his allies the Swiss, to procure from them the immediate levy of an additional body of troops; and commanded Lautrec to repair forthwith to his government. That general, who was well acquainted with the great neglect of œconomy in the administration of the King's finances, and who knew how much the troops in the Milanese had already suffered from the want of their pay, refused to set out, unless the sum of three hundred thousand crowns was immediately put into his hands. But the King, Louise of Savoy, his mother, and Semblancy, the superintendent of finances, having promised, even with an oath, that on his arrival at Milan he should find remittances for the sum which he demanded; upon the faith of this, he departed. Unhappily for France, Louise, a woman deceitful, vindictive, rapacious, and capable of sacrificing any thing to the gratification of her passions, but who had acquired an absolute ascendant over her son by her maternal tenderness, her care of his education, and her great abilities, was resolved not to perform this promise. Lautrec having incurred her displeasure by his haughtiness in neglecting to pay court to her, and by the free-

BOOK II. dom with which he had talked concerning some
 1521. of her adventures in gallantry, she, in order to deprive him of the honour which he might have gained by a successful defence of the Milanese, seized the three hundred thousand crowns destined for that service, and detained them for her own use.

Progress of
 the Imperialists.

LAUTREC, notwithstanding this cruel disappointment, found means to assemble a considerable army, though far inferior in number to that of the confederates. He adopted the plan of defence most suitable to his situation, avoiding a pitched battle with the greatest care, while he harassed the enemy continually with his light troops, beat up their quarters, intercepted their convoys, and covered or relieved every place which they attempted to attack. By this prudent conduct, he not only retarded their progress, but would have soon wearied out the Pope, who had hitherto defrayed almost the whole expence of the war, as the Emperor, whose revenues in Spain were dissipated during the commotions in that country, and who was obliged to support a numerous army in the Netherlands, could not make any considerable remittances into Italy. But an unforeseen accident disconcerted all his measures, and occasioned a fatal reverse in the French affairs. A

body of twelve thousand Swifs served in Lautrec's army under the banners of the republick, with which France was in alliance. By a law, no less political than humane, established among the cantons, their troops were not hired out by publick authority to both the contending parties in any war. This law, the love of gain had sometimes eluded, and private persons had been allowed to enlist in what service they pleased, though not under the publick banners, but under those of their officers. The Cardinal of Sion, who still preserved his interest among his countrymen, and his enmity to France, having prevailed on them to permit a levy of this kind, twelve thousand Swifs joined the army of the confederates. The cantons, when they saw so many of their countrymen marching under hostile standards, and ready to destroy each other, became so sensible of the infamy to which they would be exposed, as well as the loss they might suffer, that they dispatched couriers, commanding their people to leave both armies, and to return forthwith into their own country. The Cardinal of Sion, however, had the address, by corrupting the messengers appointed to carry this order, to prevent it from being delivered to the Swifs in the service of the confederates; but being intimated in due form to those in the French army, they, fatigued with the length of the campaign, and murmuring for want of

BOOK II. pay ; instantly yielded obedience , in spite of
1521. Lautrec's remonstrances and intreaties.

Become
masters of
Milan.

AFTER the desertion of a body which formed the strength of his army , Lautrec durst no longer face the confederates. He retired towards Milan , encamped on the banks of the Adda , and placed his chief hopes of safety in preventing the enemy from passing the river ; an expedient for defending a country so precarious , that there are few examples of its being employed with success against any general of experience or abilities. Accordingly Colonna , notwithstanding Lautrec's vigilance and activity , passed the Adda with little loss , and obliged him to shut himself up within the walls of Milan , which the confederates were preparing to besiege when an unknown person , who never afterwards appeared either to boast of this service , or to claim a reward for it , came from the city and acquainted Morone , that if the army would advance that night , the Ghibelline or Imperial faction would put them in possession of one of the gates. Colonna , though no friend to rash enterprizes , allowed the marquis de Pescara to advance with the Spanish infantry , and he himself followed with the rest of his troops. About the beginning of night , Pescara arriving at the Roman gate in the suburbs , surprized

surprized the soldiers whom he found there; those posted in the fortifications adjoining to it, immediately fled; the marquis, seizing the works which they abandoned, and pushing forward incessantly, though with no less caution than vigour, became master of the city with little bloodshed, and almost without resistance; the victors being as much astonished as the vanquished at the facility and success of the attempt. Lautrec retired precipitately towards the Venetian territories with the remains of his shattered army; the cities of the Milanese, following the fate of the capital, surrendered to the confederates; Parma and Placentia were united to the ecclesiastical state, and of all their conquests in Lombardy, only the town of Cremona, the castle of Milan, and a few inconsiderable forts remained in the hands of the French⁷⁶. Book. 11.
1521.

LEO received the accounts of this rapid success of prosperous events with such transports of joy, as brought on (if we may believe the French historians) a slight fever, which being neglected, occasioned his death on the second of December, while he was still of a vigorous age, and at the height of his glory. By this Death of
Leo X.

⁷⁶ Guic. l. xiv. 190, &c. Mém. de Bellay, 42, &c. Galeacii Capella de reb. gest. pro reitut. Fran. Sfortiæ Comment. ap. Scardium, vol. ii. 180, &c.

Book II. unexpected accident, the spirit of the confederacy was broken, and its operations suspended. The Cardinals of Sion and Medici left the army that they might be present in the conclave; the Swiss were recalled by their superiors; some other mercenaries disbanded for want of pay; and only the Spaniards, and a few Germans in the Emperor's service, remained to defend the Milanese. But Lautrec, destitute both of men and of money, was unable to improve this favourable opportunity in the manner which he would have wished. The vigilance of Morone, and the good conduct of Colonna, disappointed his feeble attempts on the Milanese. Guicciardini, by his address and valour, repulsed a bolder and more dangerous attack which he made on Parma⁷⁷.

Adrian
elected
Pope.

GREAT discord prevailed in the conclave, which followed upon Leo's death, and all the arts natural to men grown old in intrigue, when contending for a prize so valuable, were practised. Wolsey's name, notwithstanding all the Emperor's magnificent promises to favour his pretensions, of which that prelate did not fail to remind him, was hardly mentioned in the conclave. Julio Cardinal de Medici, Leo's nephew, who was more eminent than

⁷⁷ Guic. l. xiv. 214.

Book II.

1522.

any other member of the sacred college for his abilities, his wealth, and his experience in transacting great affairs, had already secured fifteen voices, a number sufficient, according to the forms of the conclave, to exclude any other candidate, though not to carry his own election. All the old cardinals combined against him, without being united in favour of any other person. While these factions were endeavouring to gain, to corrupt, or to weary out each other, Medici and his adherents voted one morning at the scrutiny, which according to form was made every day, for Cardinal Adrian of Utrecht, who at that time governed Spain in the Emperor's name. This they did merely to protract time. But the adverse party instantly closing with them, to their own amazement and that of all Europe, a stranger to Italy, unknown to the persons who gave their suffrages in his favour, and unacquainted with the manners of the people, or the interest of the state, the government of which they conferred upon him, was unanimously raised to the papal throne, January 9. at a juncture so delicate and critical, as would have demanded all the sagacity and experience of one of the most able prelates in the sacred college. The Cardinals themselves, unable to give a reason for this strange choice, on account of which, as they marched in procession from

BOOK II. the conclave, they were loaded with insults and
 1522. curses by the Roman people, ascribed it to an immediate impulse of the Holy Ghost. It may be imputed with greater certainty to the influence of Don John Manuel, the Imperial ambassador, who by his address and intrigues facilitated the election of a person devoted to his master's service, from gratitude, from interest, and from inclination ⁷⁸.

War re-
 newed in
 the Mila-
 nese.

BESIDE the influence which Charles acquired by Adrian's promotion, it threw great lustre on his administration. To bestow on his preceptor such a noble recompense, and to place on the papal throne a creature whom he had raised, were acts of uncommon magnificence and power. Francis observed, with the sensibility of a rival, the pre-eminence which he was gaining, and resolved to exert himself with fresh vigour, in order to wrest from him his late conquests in Italy. The Swiss, that they might make some reparation to the French King, for having withdrawn their troops from his army so unseasonably, as to occasion the loss of the Milanese, permitted him to levy ten thousand men in the republick. Together with this reinforcement,

⁷⁸ Herm. Moringi Vita Hadriani ap. Casp. Burman. in Analect. de Hadr. p. 52. Conclave Hadr. Ibid. p. 144, &c.

Lautrec received from the King a small sum of money, which enabled him once more to take the field, and after seizing by surprize, or force, several places in the Milanese, to advance within a few miles of the capital. The confederate army was in no condition to obstruct his progress; for though the inhabitants of Milan, by the artifices of Morone, and by the popular declamations of a monk whom he employed, were inflamed with such enthusiastick zeal against the French government, that they consented to raise extraordinary contributions, Colonna must soon have abandoned the advantageous camp which he had chosen at Bicocca, and have dismissed his troops for want of pay, if the Swiss in the French service had not once more extricated him out of his difficulties.

THE insolence or caprice of that people were often no less fatal to their friends, than their valour and discipline were formidable to their enemies. Having now served some months without pay, of which they complained loudly, a sum destined for their use was sent from France under a convoy of horse; but Morone, whose vigilant eye nothing escaped, posted a body of troops in their way, so that the party which escorted the money durst not advance. On receiving intelligence of this, the Swiss lost all patience,

The French
defeated in
the battle of
Bicocca.

BOOK II.

1522.

May.

and officers as well as soldiers crowding around Lautrec, threatened with one voice instantly to retire, if he did not either advance the pay which was due, or promise to lead them next morning to battle. In vain did Lautrec remonstrate against these demands, representing to them the impossibility of the former, and the rashness of the latter, which must be attended with certain destruction, as the enemy occupied a camp naturally of great strength, and which by art they had rendered almost inaccessible. The Swiss, deaf to reason, and persuaded that their valour was capable of surmounting every obstacle, renewed their demand with greater fierceness, offering themselves to form the vanguard, and to begin the attack. Lautrec unable to overcome their obstinacy, complied with their request, hoping, perhaps, that some of those unforeseen accidents which so often determine the fate of battles, might crown this rash enterprize with undeserved success; and convinced that the effects of a defeat could not be more fatal than those which would certainly follow upon the retreat of a body which composed one half of his army. Next morning the Swiss were early in the field, and marched with the greatest intrepidity against an enemy deeply intrenched on every side, surrounded with artillery, and prepared to receive them. As they

advanced, they sustained a furious cannonade with great firmness, and without waiting for their own artillery, rushed impetuously upon the intrenchments. But after incredible efforts of valour, which were seconded with great spirit by the French, having lost their bravest officers and best soldiers, and finding that they could make no impression on the enemy's works, they founded a retreat; leaving the field of battle, however, like men repulsed, but not vanquished, in close array, and without receiving any molestation from the enemy. Book II.
1522.

NEXT day, such as survived set out for their own country; and Lautrec, despairing of being able to make any farther resistance, retired into France, after throwing garrisons into Cremona, and a few other places; all which, except the citadel of Cremona, Colonna soon obliged to surrender. Driven out
of the Mi-
lanese.

GENOA, however, and its territories, remaining subject to France, still gave Francis considerable footing in Italy, and made it easy for him to execute any scheme for the recovery of the Milanese. But Colonna, rendered enterprising by continual success, and excited by the solicitations of the faction of the Adorni, the hereditary enemies of the Fregosi, who under

BOOK II. the protection of France possessed the chief
 1522. authority in Genoa, determined to attempt the
 reduction of that state; and accomplished it
 with amazing facility. He became master of
 Genoa by an accident as unexpected as that
 which had given him possession of Milan; and
 almost without opposition or bloodshed; the
 power of the Adorni and the authority of the
 Emperor were established in Genoa⁷⁹.

Henry VIII. SUCH a cruel succession of misfortunes affected
 declares war Francis with deep concern, which was not a
 against little augmented by the unexpected arrival of
 France. an English herald, who, in the name of his
 May 29. sovereign, declared war in form against France.
 This step was taken in consequence of the treaty
 which Wolsey had concluded with the Emperor
 at Bruges, and which had hitherto been kept
 secret. Francis, though he had reason to be
 surprized with this denunciation, after having
 been at such pains to soothe Henry and to gain
 his minister, received the herald with great
 composure and dignity⁸⁰; and without abandon-
 ing any of the schemes which he was forming
 against the Emperor, began vigorous prepara-
 tions for resisting this new enemy. His trea-
 sury, however, being exhausted by the efforts

⁷⁹ Jovii Vita Ferdin. Davali, p. 344. Guic. l. xiv. 233.

⁸⁰ Journal de Louise de Savoie, p. 199.

which he had already made, as well as by the sums he expended on his pleasures, he had recourse to extraordinary expedients for supplying it. Several new offices were created, and exposed to sale; the royal demesnes were alienated; unusual taxes were imposed; and the tomb of St. Martin was stripped of a rail of massive silver, with which Louis XI. in one of his fits of devotion had encircled it. By means of these expedients he was enabled to levy a considerable army, and to put the frontier-towns in a good posture of defence.

THE Emperor, meanwhile, was no less solicitous to draw as much advantage as possible from the accession of such a powerful ally; and the prosperous situation of his affairs, at this time, permitting him to set out for Spain, where his presence was extremely necessary, he visited the court of England in his way to that country. He proposed by this interview not only to strengthen the bonds of friendship which united him with Henry, and to excite him to push the war against France with vigour, but hoped to remove any disgust or resentment that Wolsey might have conceived on account of the cruel disappointment which he had met with in the late conclave. His success exceeded his most sanguine expectations; and by his artful

Charles
visits Eng-
land.

BOOK II. address, during a residence of six weeks in
 1522. England, he gained not only the King and the
 minister, but the nation itself. Henry, whose
 vanity was sensibly flattered by such a visit, as
 well as by the studied respect with which the
 Emperor treated him on every occasion, entered
 warmly into all his schemes. The Cardinal,
 foreseeing from Adrian's age and infirmities, a
 sudden vacancy in the papal see, dissembled or
 forgot his resentment; and as Charles, besides
 augmenting the pensions which he had already
 settled on him, renewed his promise of favour-
 ing his pretensions to the papacy, with all his
 interest, he endeavoured to merit the former,
 and to secure the accomplishment of the latter,
 by fresh services. The nation, sharing in the glory
 of its monarch, and pleased with the confidence
 which the Emperor placed in the English, by
 creating the earl of Surrey his high-admiral,
 discovered no less inclination to commence hos-
 tilities than Henry himself.

The English
 invade
 France,

IN order to give Charles, before he left Eng-
 land, a proof of this general ardour, Surrey
 sailed with such forces as were ready, and ra-
 vaged the coasts of Normandy. He then made
 a descent on Bretagne, where he plundered and
 burnt Morlaix, and some other places of less
 consequence. After these slight excursions, at-

tended with greater dishonour than damage to France, he repaired to Calais, and took the command of the principal army, consisting of sixteen thousand men; with which, having joined the Flemish troops under the count de Buren, he advanced into Picardy. The army which Francis had assembled, was far inferior in number to these united bodies. But during the long wars between the two nations, the French had discovered the proper method of defending their country against the English. They had been taught by their misfortunes to avoid a pitched battle with the utmost care, and to endeavour, by throwing garrisons into every place capable of resistance, by watching all the enemy's motions, by intercepting their convoys, attacking their advanced posts, and harassing them continually with their numerous cavalry, to ruin them with the length of the war, or to beat them by piece-meal. This plan the duke of Vendome, the French general in Picardy, pursued with no less prudence than success; and not only prevented Surrey from taking any town of importance, but obliged him to retire with his army greatly reduced by fatigue, by want of provisions, and by the loss which it had sustained in several unsuccessful skirmishes.

BOOK II.

1522.

THUS ended the second campaign in a war the most general that hitherto had been kindled in Europe; and though Francis, by his mother's ill-timed resentment, by the disgusting insolence of his general, and the caprice of the mercenary troops which he employed, had lost his conquests in Italy, yet all the powers combined against him had not been able to make any impression on his hereditary dominions; and wherever they either intended or attempted an attack, he was well prepared to receive them.

Soliman's

conquest of
Rhodes.

WHILE the Christian princes were thus wasting each other's strength, Solyman the Magnificent entered Hungary with a numerous army, and investing Belgrade, which was deemed the chief barrier of that kingdom against the Turkish arms, soon forced it to surrender. Encouraged by this success, he turned his victorious arms against the island of Rhodes, the seat, at that time, of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. This small state he attacked with such a numerous army, as the lords of Asia have been accustomed in every age to bring into the field. Two hundred thousand men, and a fleet of four hundred sail appeared against a town defended by a garrison consisting of five thousand soldiers, and six hundred knights, under the command of Villiers de L'Isle Adam, the

grand master, whose wisdom and valour rendered him worthy of that station at such a dangerous juncture. No sooner did he begin to suspect the destination of Solyman's vast armaments, than he dispatched messengers to all the Christian courts, imploring their aid against the common enemy. But though every prince in that age acknowledged Rhodes to be the great bulwark of Christendom in the east, and trusted to the gallantry of its knights as the best security against the progress of the Ottoman arms; though Adrian, with a zeal which became the head and father of the church, exhorted the contending powers to forget their private quarrels, and by uniting their arms, to prevent the infidels from destroying a society which did honour to the Christian name; yet so violent and implacable was the animosity of both parties, that, regardless of the danger to which they exposed all Europe, and unmoved by the intreaties of the grand master, or the admonitions of the Pope, they suffered Solyman to carry on his operations against Rhodes without disturbance. The grand master, after incredible efforts of courage, of patience, and of military conduct during a siege of six months; after sustaining many assaults, and disputing every post with amazing obstinacy, was obliged at last to yield to numbers, and having obtained

BOOK II. an honourable capitulation from the Sultan, who
 1522. admired and respected his virtue, he surrendered
 the town, which was reduced to a heap of
 rubbish, and destitute of every resource⁶¹. Char-
 les and Francis, ashamed of having occasioned
 such a loss to Christendom by their ambitious
 contests, endeavoured to throw the blame of
 it on each other, while all Europe, with great-
 er justice, imputed it equally to both. The
 Emperor, by way of reparation, granted the
 knights of St. John the small island of Malta, in
 which they fixed their residence, retaining,
 though with less power and splendour, their
 ancient spirit, and implacable enmity to the
 Infidels.

⁶¹ Fontanus de Bello Rhodico ap. Scard. Script. Rer.
 German. Vol. ii. p. 88. P. Barre. Hist. d'Allem. tom. viii.
 57.

THE
HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN

OF THE

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK III.

CHARLES, having had the satisfaction of seeing BOOK III.
hostilities begun between France and England, 1522.
took leave of Henry, and arrived in Spain on Civil war
the seventeenth of June. He found that country in Castile.
just beginning to recover order and strength
after the miseries of a civil war, to which it
had been exposed during his absence; an ac-
count of the rise and progress of which, as it
was but little connected with the other events
which happened in Europe, hath been reserved
to this place.

BOOK III. No sooner was it known that the Cortes assembled in Galicia had voted the Emperor a
 1522. *free gift*, without obtaining the redress of any
 Infurrection of Toledo. one grievance, than it excited universal indignation. The citizens of Toledo, who considered themselves, on account of the great privileges which they enjoyed, as guardians of the liberties of the Castilian commons, finding that no regard was paid to the remonstrances of their deputies against that unconstitutional grant, took arms with tumultuary violence, and seizing the gates of the city which were fortified, attacked the al-cazar, or castle, which they soon obliged the governor to surrender. Emboldened by this success, they deprived of all authority every person whom they suspected of any attachment to the court, established a popular form of government, composed of deputies from the several parishes in the city, and levied troops in their own defence. The chief leader of the people in these infurrections was don John de Padilla, the eldest son of the commendador of Castile, a young nobleman of a generous temper, of undaunted courage, and possessed of the talents as well as of the ambition which, in times of civil discord, raise men to power and eminence¹.

¹ Sandov. p. 77.

The resentment of the citizens of Segovia Book III. produced effects still more fatal. Tordefillas, 1522. one of their representatives in the late Cortes, Of Segovia. had voted for the donative; and being a bold and haughty man, ventured, upon his return, to call together his fellow-citizens in the great church, that he might give them, according to custom, an account of his conduct in that assembly. But the multitude, unable to bear his insolence, in attempting to justify what they thought inexcusable, burst open the gates of the church with the utmost fury, and seizing the unhappy Tordefillas, dragged him through the streets, with a thousand curses and insults, towards the place of publick execution. In vain did the dean and canons come forth in procession with the holy sacrament, in order to appease their rage. In vain did the monks of those monasteries by which they passed, conjure them on their knees to spare his life, or at least to allow him time to confess, and to receive absolution of his sins. Without listening to the dictates either of humanity or religion, they cried out, "That the hangman alone could absolve such a traitor to his country;" they hurried him along with greater violence; and preceiving that he had expired under their hands, they hung him up with his head downwards on the com-

BOOK III. mon gibbet². The same spirit seized the inhabitants of Burgos, Zamora, and several other cities; and though their representatives, taking warning from the fate of Tordefillas, had been so wise as to save themselves by a timely flight, they were burnt in effigy, their houses razed to the ground, and their effects consumed with fire; and such was the horror which the people had conceived against them as betrayers of the public liberty, that not one in those licentious multitudes would touch any thing, however valuable, which had belonged to them³.

Measures of ADRIAN, at that time regent of Spain, had
 Adrian, in scarcely fixed the seat of his government at Valladolid, when he was alarmed with an account of
 order to punish them, these insurrections. He immediately assembled
 June 5, the council to deliberate concerning the proper
 1520. method of suppressing them. The counsellors differed in opinion; some insisting that it was necessary to check this audacious spirit in its infancy by a severe execution of justice; others advising to treat with lenity a people who had some reason to be incensed, and not to drive them beyond all the bounds of duty by an ill-timed rigour. The sentiments of the former being warmly supported by the archbishop of Granada,

² P. Martyr. Ep. 671.

³ Sandoz. 103. P. Mart. Ep. 674.

president of the council, a person of great au- Book III.
 thority, but cholerick and impetuous, were ap- 1522.
 proved of by Adrian, whose zeal to support his
 master's authority hurried him into a measure,
 to which, from his natural caution and timidity,
 he would otherwise have been averse. He com-
 manded Ronquillo, one of the King's judges,
 to repair instantly to Segovia, which had set the
 first example of mutiny, and to proceed against
 the delinquents according to law; and lest the
 people should be so outrageous as to resist his
 authority, a considerable body of troops was
 appointed to attend him. The Segovians, fore- His troops
 seeing what they might expect from a judge so repulsed at
 well known for his austere and unforgiving tem- Segovia,
 per, took arms with one consent, and having
 mustered twelve thousand men, shut their gates
 against him. Ronquillo, enraged at this insult,
 denounced them rebels and outlaws; and his
 troops seizing all the avenues to the town,
 hoped that it would soon be obliged to surrender
 for want of provisions. The inhabitants, how-
 ever, defended themselves with vigour, and hav-
 ing received a considerable reinforcement from
 Toledo, under the command of Padilla, attacked
 Ronquillo, and forced him to retire, with the
 loss of his baggage and military chest[†].

[†] Sandov. 112. P. Mart. Ep. 679. Miniana, Contin.
 p. 15.

BOOK III.

1522.

and at Medina del Campo.

Aug. 21.

UPON this Adrian ordered Antonio de Fonseca, whom the Emperor had appointed commander in chief of the forces in Castile, to assemble an army, and to besiege Segovia in form. But the inhabitants of Medina del Campo, where Cardinal Ximenes had established a vast magazine of military stores, would not suffer him to draw from it a train of battering canon, or to destroy their countrymen with those arms which had been prepared against the enemies of the kingdom. Fonseca, who could not execute his orders without artillery, determined to seize the magazine by force; and the citizens standing on their defence, he assaulted the town with great briskness: But his troops were so warmly received, that despairing of carrying the place, he set fire to some of the houses, in hopes that the citizens would abandon the walls, in order to save their families and effects. Instead of that, the expedient to which he had recourse served only to increase their fury, and he was repulsed with great infamy, while the flames spreading from street to street, reduced to ashes almost the whole town, one of the most considerable at that time in Spain, and the great mart for the manufactures of Segovia, and several other cities. As the warehouses were then filled with goods for the approaching fair, the loss was immense, and was felt universally. This, added to the impression

which such a cruel action made on a people long unaccustomed to the horrors of civil war, enraged the Castilians almost to madness. Fonseca became the object of general indignation, and was branded with the name of incendiary, and enemy to his country. Even the citizens of Valladolid, whom the presence of the cardinal had hitherto restrained, declared that they could no longer remain inactive spectators of the sufferings of their countrymen. Taking arms with no less fury than the other cities, they burnt Fonseca's house to the ground, elected new magistrates, raised soldiers, appointed officers to command them, and guarded their walls with as much diligence as if an enemy had been ready to attack them. Book III.
1522.

THE Cardinal, though virtuous and disinterested, and capable of governing the kingdom with honour in times of tranquillity, possessed neither the courage nor sagacity necessary at such a dangerous juncture. Finding himself unable to check these outrages committed under his own eye, he attempted to appease the people, by protesting that Fonseca had exceeded his orders, and had by his rash conduct offended him, as much as he had injured them. This condescension, the effect of irresolution and timidity, rendered the malecontents bolder and

Adrian dis-
bands his
troops.

BOOK III. more insolent; and the Cardinal having soon
 1522. after recalled Fonseca, and dismissed his troops, which he could no longer afford to pay, as the treasury, drained by the rapaciousness of the Flemish ministers, had received no supply from the great cities, which were all in arms, the people were left at full liberty to act without controul, and scarcely any shadow of power remained in his hands.

The views
 and preten-
 sions of the
 commons of
 Castile.

NOR were the proceedings of the commons the effects merely of popular and tumultuary rage; they aimed at obtaining redress of their political grievances, and an establishment of publick liberty on a secure basis, objects worthy of all the zeal which they discovered in contending for them. The feudal government in Spain was at that time in a state more favourable to liberty than in any other of the great European kingdoms. This was owing chiefly, to the number of great cities in that country, a circumstance I have already taken notice of, and which contributed more than any other to mitigate the rigour of the feudal institutions, and to introduce a more liberal and equal form of government. The inhabitants of every city formed a great corporation, with valuable immunities and privileges; they were delivered from a state of subjection and vassalage; they were

admitted to a considerable share in the legisla- Book III.
ture; they acquired the arts of industry, with- 1522.
out which cities cannot subsist; they accumu-
lated wealth, by engaging in commerce; and
being free and independent themselves, were the
guardians of the publick freedom and indepen-
dence. The genius of the internal government
established in cities, which even in countries
where despotick power prevails most, is democra-
tical and republican, rendered the idea of liberty
familiar and dear to them. Their representatives
in the Cortes were accustomed, with equal spirit,
to check the encroachments of the King, and the
oppression of the nobles. They endeavoured to
extend the privileges of their own order; they
laboured to shake off the remaining incum-
brances with which the feudal tyranny had bur-
dened them; and conscious of being one of the
most considerable orders in the state, were am-
bitious of becoming the most powerful.

THE present juncture appeared favourable for Their con-
pushing any new claim. Their sovereign was federacy by
absent from his dominions; by the ill-conduct the name of
of his ministers he had lost the esteem and affec- the Holy
tion of his subjects; the people exasperated by Junta.
many injuries had taken arms, though without
concert, almost by general consent; they were
animated with rage capable of carrying them to

BOOK III, the most violent extremes; the royal treasury
 1522. was exhausted; the kingdom destitute of troops;
 and the government committed to a stranger, of
 great virtue indeed, but of abilities unequal to
 such a trust. The first care of Padilla, and the
 other popular leaders who observed and deter-
 mined to improve these circumstances, was to
 establish some form of union or association among
 the malecontents, that they might act with
 greater regularity, and pursue one common end;
 and as the different cities had been prompted
 to take arms by the same motives, and were
 accustomed to consider themselves as a distinct
 body from the rest of the subjects, they did not
 find this difficult. A general convention was
 appointed to be held at Avila. Deputies ap-
 peared there in name of almost all the cities en-
 titled to have representatives in the Cortes. They
 all bound themselves by solemn oath, to live and
 die in the service of the King, and in defence of
 the privileges of their order; and assuming the
 name of the holy *Junta* or association, proceeded
 to deliberate concerning the state of the nation,
 and the proper method of redressing its griev-
 ances. The first that naturally presented itself,
 was the nomination of a foreigner to be regent;
 this they declared with one voice to be a vio-
 lation of the fundamental laws of the kingdom,
 and resolved to send a deputation of their mem-
 bers to Adrian, requiring him in their name to

They dis-
 claim A-
 drian's au-
 thority.

lay aside all the ensigns of his office, and to abstain for the future from the exercise of a jurisdiction which they had pronounced illegal ⁵. Book III.
1522.

WHILE they were preparing to execute this bold resolution, Padilla accomplished an enterprize of the greatest advantage to the cause. After relieving Segovia, he marched suddenly to Tordesillas, the place where the unhappy Queen Joanna had resided since the death of her husband, and being favoured by the inhabitants, was admitted into the town, and became master of her person, for the security of which Adrian had neglected to take proper precautions ⁶. Padilla waited immediately upon the Queen, and accosting her with that profound respect, which she exacted from the few persons whom she deigned to admit into her presence, acquainted her at large with the miserable condition of her Castilian subjects under the government of her son, who being destitute of experience himself, permitted his foreign ministers to treat them with such rigour, as had obliged them to take arms in defence of the liberties of their country. The Queen, as if she had been awakened out of a lethargy, expressed great astonishment at what he said, and told him, that as she had never heard, till that moment, of the death of her

Get possession of
Queen
Joanna.
Aug. 29.

⁵ P. Mart. Ep. 691. ⁶ Vita dell'Imper. Carl. V. dall' Alf. Ulloa. Ven. 1509. p. 67. Miniana, Contin. p. 17.

BOOK III. father, or known the sufferings of her people,
 1522. no blame could be imputed to her, but that now she would take care to provide a sufficient remedy; and in the mean time, added she, let it be your concern to do what is necessary for the publick welfare. Padilla, too eager in forming a conclusion agreeable to his wishes, mistook this lucid interval of reason for a perfect return of that faculty; and acquainting the Junta with what had happened, advised them to remove to Tor-desillas, and to hold their meetings in that place. This was instantly done; but though Joanna received very graciously an address of the Junta, beseeching her to take upon her the government of the kingdom, and in token of her compliance, admitted all the deputies to kiss her hand; though she was present at a tournament held on that occasion, and seemed highly satisfied with both these ceremonies, which were conducted with great magnificence in order to please her, she soon relapsed into her former melancholy and fullness, and could never be brought, by any arguments or intreaties, to sign any one paper necessary towards the dispatch of business⁷.

Carry on government in her name,

THE Junta concealing as much as possible this last circumstance, carried on all their deli-

⁷ Sandov. 164. P. Mart. Ep. 685, 686.

berations in her name; and as the Castilians, Book III.
 who idolized the memory of Isabella, retained 1522.
 a wonderful attachment to her daughter, no
 sooner was it known that she had consented to
 assume the reins of government, than the people
 expressed the most universal and immoderate
 joy; and believing her recovery to be compleat,
 ascribed it to a miraculous interposition of heaven,
 in order to rescue their country from the oppres-
 sion of foreigners. The Junta, conscious of the
 reputation and power which they had acquired and deprive
 by seeming to act under the royal authority, were Adrian of
 no longer satisfied with requiring Adrian to resign all power.
 the office of regent; they detached Padilla to
 Valladolid with a considerable body of troops,
 ordering him to seize such members of the coun-
 cil as were still in that city, to conduct them to
 Tordefillas, and to bring away the seals of the
 kingdom, the publick archives, and treasury-
 books. Padilla, who was received by the citi-
 zens as the deliverer of his country, executed
 his commission with great exactness; permitting
 Adrian, however, still to reside in Valladolid,
 though only as a private person, and without
 any shadow of power^s.

THE Emperor, to whom frequent accounts of The Empe-
 these transactions were transmitted while he was ror alarmed.
 still in Flanders, was sensible of his own impru-

^s Sandov. 174. P. Mart. Ep. 791.

BOOK III. dence and that of his ministers, in having de-
 1522. spised too long the murmurs and remonstrances
 of the Castilians. He beheld, with deep con-
 cern, a kingdom, the most valuable of any he
 possessed, and in which lay the strength and
 sinews of his power, just ready to disown his
 authority, and on the point of being plunged in
 all the miseries of civil war. But though his
 presence might have averted this calamity, he
 could not, at that time, visit Spain without en-
 dangering the Imperial crown, and allowing the
 French King full leisure to execute his ambi-
 tious schemes. The only point now to be deli-
 berated upon, was whether he should attempt
 to gain the malecontents by indulgence and con-
 cessions, or prepare directly to suppress them by
 force; and he resolved to make trial of the for-
 mer, while, at the same time, if that should fail
 of success, he prepared for the latter. For this
 purpose, he issued circular letters to all the
 cities of Castile, exhorting them in most gentle
 terms, and with assurances of full pardon, to
 lay down their arms; he promised such cities
 as had continued faithful, not to exact from them
 the subsidy granted in the late Cortes, and of-
 fered the same favour to such as returned to
 their duty; he engaged that no office should be
 conferred for the future upon any but native
 Castilians. On the other hand, he wrote to the
 nobles, exciting them to appear with vigour in

His mea-
 sures with
 respect to
 the male-
 contents.

defence of their own rights, and those of the crown, against the exorbitant claims of the commons; he appointed the high admiral, Don Fadrique Enriquez, and the high constable of Castile, Don Inigo de Velasco, two noblemen of great abilities as well as influence, regents of the kingdom in conjunction with Adrian; and he gave them full power and instructions, if the obstinacy of the malecontents should render it necessary, to vindicate the royal authority by force of arms'. BOOK III.
1522.

THESE concessions, which, at the time of his leaving Spain, would have fully satisfied the people, came now too late to produce any effect. The Junta, relying on the unanimity with which the nation submitted to their authority, elated with the success which hitherto had accompanied all their undertakings, and seeing no military force collected to defeat or obstruct their designs, aimed at a more thorough reformation of political abuses. They had been employed for some time in preparing a remonstrance, containing a large enumeration not only of the grievances, of which they craved redress, but of such new regulations as they thought necessary for the security of their liberties. This remonstrance, which is divided into many articles re-

The large remonstrance of the Junta concerning their grievances.

* P. Heuter. Rer. Austr. lib. viii. c. 6. p. 188.

BOOK III. 1522. dence and that of his ministers, in having de-

spised too long the murmurs and remonstrances of the Castilians. He beheld, with deep concern, a kingdom, the most valuable of any he possessed, and in which lay the strength and sinews of his power, just ready to disown his authority, and on the point of being plunged in all the miseries of civil war. But though his presence might have averted this calamity, he could not, at that time, visit Spain without endangering the Imperial crown, and allowing the French King full leisure to execute his ambitious schemes. The only point now to be deliberated upon, was whether he should attempt to gain the malecontents by indulgence and concessions, or prepare directly to suppress them by force; and he resolved to make trial of the former, while, at the same time, if that should fail of success, he prepared for the latter. For this purpose, he issued circular letters to all the cities of Castile, exhorting them in most gentle terms, and with assurances of full pardon, to lay down their arms; he promised such cities as had continued faithful, not to exact from them the subsidy granted in the late Cortes, and offered the same favour to such as returned to their duty; he engaged that no office should be conferred for the future upon any but native Castilians. On the other hand, he wrote to the nobles, exciting them to appear with vigour in

His measures with respect to the malecontents.

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BOOK III. 1522. relating to all the different members of which the constitution was composed, as well as to the various departments in the administration of government, furnishes us with more authentick evidence concerning the intentions of the Junta, than can be drawn from the testimony of the later Spanish historians, who lived in times when it became fashionable and even necessary to represent the conduct of the malecontents in the worst light, and as flowing from the worst motives. After a long preamble concerning the various calamities under which the nation groaned, and the errors and corruption in government to which these were to be imputed, they take notice of the exemplary patience wherewith the people had endured them, until self-preservation, and the duty which they owed to their country, had obliged them to assemble, in order to provide in a legal manner for their own safety, and that of the constitution: For this purpose, they demanded that the King would be pleased to return to his Spanish dominions, and reside there, as all their former monarchs had done; that he would not marry but with consent of the Cortes; that if he should be obliged at any time to leave the kingdom, it shall not be lawful to appoint any foreigner to be regent; that the present nomination of Cardinal Adrian to that office shall instantly be declared

void; that he would not, at his return, bring Book III.
along with him any Flemings or other strangers; 1522.
that no foreign troops shall, on any pretence
whatever, be introduced into the kingdom;
that none but natives shall be capable of hold-
ing any office or benefice either in church or
state; that no foreigner shall be naturalized;
that free quarters shall not be granted to sol-
diers, nor to the members of the King's house-
hold, for any longer time than six days, and that
only when the court is in a progress; that all the
taxes shall be reduced to the same state they
were in at the death of Queen Isabella; that
all alienations of the royal demesnes or revenues
since that Queen's death shall be resumed; that
all new offices created since that period shall be
abolished; that the subsidy granted by the late
Cortes in Galicia shall not be exacted; that in
all future Cortes each city shall send one repre-
sentative of the clergy, one of the gentry, and
one of the commons, each to be elected by his
own order; that the crown shall not influence
or direct any city with regard to the choice of
its representatives; that no member of the
Cortes shall receive an office or pension from
the King, either for himself or for any of his
family, under pain of death, and confiscation of
his goods; that each city or community shall
pay a competent salary to its representatives for

BOOK III. his maintenance during his attendance on the
1522. Cortes; that the Cortes shall assemble once in three years at least, whether summoned by the King or not, and shall then enquire into the observation of the articles now agreed upon, and deliberate concerning publick affairs; that the rewards which have been given or promised to any of the members of the Cortes in Galicia, shall be revoked; that no gold, silver, or jewels, shall, upon pain of death, be sent out of the kingdom; that judges shall have fixed salaries assigned them, and shall not receive any share of the fines and forfeitures of persons condemned by them; that no grant of the goods of persons accused shall be valid, if given before sentence was pronounced against them; that all privileges which the nobles have at any time obtained, to the prejudice of the commons, shall be revoked; that the government of cities or towns shall not be put into the hands of noblemen; that the possessions of the nobility shall be subject to all publick taxes in the same manner as those of the commons; that an inquiry be made into the conduct of such as have been entrusted with the management of the royal patrimony since the accession of Ferdinand; and if the King do not within thirty days appoint persons properly qualified for that service, it shall be lawful for the Cortes to nominate them; that Indulgences shall not be preached

preached or dispersed in the kingdom until the cause of publishing them be examined and approved of by the Cortes; that all the money arising from the sale of Indulgences, shall be faithfully employed in carrying on war against the Infidels; that such prelates as do not reside in their dioceses six months in the year, shall forfeit their revenues during the time they are absent; that the ecclesiastical judges and their officers shall not exact greater fees than those which are paid in the secular courts; that the present archbishop of Toledo being a foreigner, be compelled to resign that dignity, which shall be conferred upon a Castilian; that the King shall ratify and hold as good service done to him and to the kingdom, all the proceedings of the Junta, and pardon any irregularities which the cities may have committed from an excess of zeal in a good cause: That he shall promise and swear in the most solemn manner to observe all these articles, and on no occasion attempt either to elude, or to repeal them; and that he shall never solicit the Pope or any other prelate to grant him a dispensation or absolution from this oath and promise ¹⁰.

Book III.
1522.

SUCH were the chief articles presented by the Junta to their sovereign. As the feudal in-

The spirit
of liberty
which it
breathed.

¹⁰ Sandov. 206. P. Mart. Ep. 686.

BOOK III. Institutions in the several kingdoms of Europe
1522. were originally the same, the genius of those governments which arose from them bore a strong resemblance to each other, and the regulations which the Castilians attempted to establish on this occasion, differ little from those which other nations have laboured to procure in their struggles with their monarchs for liberty. The grievances complained of, and the remedies proposed by the English commons in their contests with the princes of the house of Stuart, particularly resemble those upon which the Junta now insisted. But the principles of liberty seem to have been better understood at this period, by the Castilians, than by any other people in Europe; they had acquired more liberal ideas with respect to their own rights and privileges; they had formed more bold and generous sentiments concerning government; and discovered an extent of political knowledge to which the English themselves did not attain until more than a century afterwards.

It is not improbable, however, that the spirit of reformation among the Castilians, hitherto unrestrained by authority, and emboldened by success, became too impetuous, and prompted the Junta to propose innovations which, by alarming the other members of the constitution,

proved fatal to their cause. The nobles, who, Book III.
 instead of obstructing, had favoured or con- 1522.
 nived at their proceedings, while they confined
 their demands of redress to such grievances as
 had been occasioned by the King's want of
 experience, and by the imprudence and rapa-
 cioufness of his foreign ministers, were filled
 with indignation when they began to touch the Irritates the nobles.
 privileges of their order, and plainly saw that
 the measures of the commons tended no less to
 break the power of the aristocracy, than to
 limit the prerogatives of the crown. The resent-
 ment which they had conceived on account of
 Adrian's promotion to the regency, abated con-
 siderably upon the Emperor's raising the con-
 stable and admiral to joint power with him in
 that office; and as their pride and dignity were
 less hurt by suffering the Prince to possess an
 extensive prerogative, than by admitting the
 high pretensions of the people, they determined
 to give their sovereign the assistance which he
 had demanded of them, and began to assemble
 their vassals for that purpose.

THE Junta, meanwhile, expected with im- The depu-
ties of the
junta dare
not present
their remon-
strances.
 patience the Emperor's answer to their remon-
 strance, which they had appointed some of their
 number to present. The members entrusted
 with this commission set out immediately for October 20.

Book III. Germany; but having received at different places
 1522. certain intelligence from court, that they could
 not venture to appear there without endanger-
 ing their lives, they stopt short in their journey,
 and acquainted the Junta of the information
 which had been given them¹¹. This excited
 such violent passions as transported the whole
 party beyond all bounds of prudence, or of
 moderation. That a Castilian King should deny
 his subjects access into his presence, or refuse to
 listen to their humble petitions, was represented
 as an act of tyranny so unprecedented and in-
 tolerable, that nothing now remained but with
 arms in their hands to drive away that ravenous
 band of foreigners which encompassed the throne,
 who after having devoured the wealth of the
 kingdom, found it necessary to prevent the cries
 of an injured people from reaching the ears of
 their sovereign. Many insisted warmly on ap-
 proving a motion which had formerly been
 made, for depriving Charles, during the life
 of his mother, of the regal titles and authority,
 which had been too rashly conferred upon him
 from a false supposition of her total inability for
 government. Some proposed to provide a pro-
 per person to assist her in the administration of
 publick affairs, by marrying the Queen to the
 Prince of Calabria, the heir of the Aragonese

Violent pro-
 positions of
 the Junta.

¹¹ Sandoz. 143.

Kings of Naples, who had been detained in prison since the time that Ferdinand had dispossessed his ancestors of their crown. All agreed that, as the hopes of obtaining redress and security merely by presenting their requests to their sovereign, had kept them too long in a state of inaction, and prevented them from taking advantage of the unanimity with which the nation declared in their favour, it was now necessary to collect their whole force, and to exert themselves with vigour, in opposing this fatal combination of the King and nobles against their liberties ¹².

Book III.
1522.

THEY soon took the field with twenty thousand men. Violent disputes arose concerning the command of this army. Padilla, the darling of the people and soldiers, was the only person whom they thought worthy of this honour. But Don Pedro de Giron, the eldest son of the Conde de Uruena, a young nobleman of the first order, having lately joined the commons out of private resentment against the Emperor, the respect due to his birth, together with a secret desire of disappointing Padilla, of whose popularity many members of the Junta had become jealous, procured him the office of general; though he soon gave them a fatal

Take the field.

November

23.

¹² P. Mart. Ep. 688.

BOOK III. proof that he possessed neither the experience,
1522. the abilities, nor the steadiness which that important station required.

The regents
and nobles
arm.

THE regents, meanwhile, appointed Rioseco as the place of rendezvous for their troops, which, though far inferior to those of the commons in number, excelled them greatly in discipline and in valour. They had drawn a considerable body of regular and veteran infantry out of Navarre. Their cavalry, which formed the chief strength of their army, consisted mostly of gentlemen accustomed to the military life, and animated with the martial spirit peculiar to their order in that age. The infantry of the Junta was formed entirely of citizens and mechanics, little acquainted with the use of arms. The small body of cavalry which they had been able to raise, was composed of persons of ignoble birth, and perfect strangers to the service into which they entered. The character of the generals differed no less than that of their troops. The royalists were commanded by the Conde de Haro, the constable's eldest son, an officer of great experience, and of distinguished abilities.

Imprudence
and ill suc-
cess of the

GIRON marched with his army directly to Rioseco, and seizing the villages and passes

around it, hoped that the royalists would be obliged either to surrender for want of provisions, or to fight with disadvantage before all their troops were assembled. But he had not the abilities, nor his troops the patience and discipline necessary for the execution of such a scheme. The Conde de Haro found little difficulty in conducting a considerable reinforcement through all his posts into the town; and Giron despairing of being able to reduce it, advanced suddenly to Villa-panda, a place belonging to the Constable, in which the enemy had their chief magazine of provisions. By this ill-judged motion, he left Tordefillas open to the royalists, whom the Conde de Haro led thither in the night, with the utmost secrecy and dispatch; and attacking the town, in which Giron had left no other garrison than a regiment of priests raised by the bishop of Zamora, he, by break of day, forced his way into it after a desperate resistance, became master of the Queen's person, took prisoners many members of the Junta, and recovered the great seal, with the other ensigns of government.

By this fatal blow, the Junta lost all the reputation and authority which they derived from seeming to act by the Queen's commands; such of the nobles as had hitherto been wavering or undetermined in their choice, now joined the

BOOK III. regents with all their forces; and an universal
 1522. consternation seized the partizans of the commons. This was much increased by the suspicions they began to entertain of Giron, whom they loudly accused of having betrayed Tordefillas to the enemy; and though that charge seems to have been destitute of foundation, the success of the royalists being owing to Giron's ill conduct rather than to his treachery, he so entirely lost credit with his party, that he resigned his commission, and retired to one of his castles ¹³.

The Junta
 adhere to
 their
 system.

SUCH members of the Junta as had escaped the enemy's hands at Tordefillas, fled to Valladolid; and as it would have required long time to supply the places of those who were prisoners by a new election, they made choice among themselves of a small number of persons, to whom they committed the supreme direction of affairs. Their army, which grew stronger every day by the arrival of troops from different parts of the kingdom, marched likewise to Valladolid; and Padilla being appointed commander in chief, the spirits of the soldiery revived, and the whole party forgetting the late misfortune, continued to express the same ardent zeal for the liberties of their country, and the

¹³ Miscellaneous Tracts by Dr. Mich. Geddes, vol. i. 278.

same implacable animosity against their oppressors. Book III
1522.

WHAT they stood most in need of, was money to pay their troops. A great part of the current coin had been carried out of the kingdom by the Flemings; the stated taxes levied in times of peace were inconsiderable; commerce of every kind being interrupted by the war, the sum which they yielded decreased daily; and the Junta were afraid of disgusting the people by burdening them with new impositions, to which, in that age, they were little accustomed. But from this difficulty they were extricated by Donna Maria Pacheco, Padilla's wife, a woman of noble birth, of great abilities, of boundless ambition, and animated with the most ardent zeal in support of the cause of the Junta. She, with a boldness superior to those superstitious fears which often influence her sex, proposed to seize all the rich and magnificent ornaments in the cathedral of Toledo; but lest that action, by its appearance of impiety, might offend the people, she and her retinue marched to the church in solemn procession, in mourning habits, with tears in their eyes, beating their breasts, and falling on their knees, implored the pardon of the saints whose shrines she was about to violate. By this artifice, which

Their expedients for raising money.

BOOK III. screened her from the imputation of sacrilege,
 1522. and persuaded the people that necessity and zeal
 for a good cause had constrained her, though
 with reluctance, to venture upon this action, she
 procured a considerable supply of money for the
 Junta ¹⁴. The regents, no less at a loss how to
 maintain their troops, the revenues of the crown
 having either been dissipated by the Flemings,
 or seized by the commons, were obliged to take
 the Queen's jewels, together with the plate
 belonging to the nobility, and apply them to
 that purpose; and when those failed, they ob-
 tained a small sum by way of loan from the King
 of Portugal ¹⁵.

Loss of time in
 negotiations
 with the
 nobility.

THE nobility discovered great unwillingness
 to proceed to extremities with the Junta. They
 were animated with no less hatred than the
 commons against the Flemings; they approved
 much of several articles in the remonstrance;
 they thought the juncture favourable, not only
 for redressing past grievances, but for rendering
 the constitution more perfect and secure by new
 regulations; they were afraid, that while the two
 orders of which the legislature was composed,
 wasted each other's strength by mutual hostilities,
 the crown would rise to power on the ruin or

¹⁴ Sandov. 308. Dict. de Bayle, Art. Padilla.

¹⁵ P. Mart. Ep. 718.

weakness of both, and encroach no less on the independence of the nobles, than on the privileges of the commons. To this disposition were owing the frequent overtures of peace which the regents made to the Junta, and the continual negotiations they carried on during the progress of their military operations. Nor were the terms which they offered unreasonable; for on condition that the Junta would pass from a few articles most subversive of the royal authority, or inconsistent with the rights of the nobility, they engaged to procure the Emperor's consent to their other demands, which, if he, through the influence of evil counsellors, should refuse, several of the nobles promised to join with them in order to extort it ¹⁶. Such divisions, however, prevailed among the members of the Junta, as prevented their deliberating calmly, or judging with prudence. Several of the cities which had entered into the confederacy, were filled with that mean jealousy and distrust of each other, which rivalry in commerce or in grandeur is apt to inspire; the constable, by his influence and promises, had prevailed on the inhabitants of Burgos to abandon the Junta, and other noblemen had shaken the fidelity of some of the lesser cities; no person had arisen among the commons of such superior abilities or elevation

¹⁶ P. Mart. Ep. 695, 713, Geddes's Tracts, i. 261.

BOOK III. of mind, as to acquire the direction of their
1522. affairs; Padilla, their general, was a man of popular qualities, but distrusted for that reason by those of highest rank who adhered to the Junta; the conduct of Giron led the people to view with suspicion every person of noble birth who joined their party; so that the strongest marks of irresolution, mutual distrust, and mediocrity of genius, appeared in all their proceedings at this time. After many consultations held concerning the terms proposed by the regents, they suffered themselves to be so carried away by resentment against the nobility, that rejecting all thoughts of accommodation, they threatened to strip them of the crown-lands, which they or their ancestors had usurped, and to re-annex these to the royal domain. Upon this preposterous scheme, which would at once have annihilated all the liberties for which they had been struggling, by rendering the Kings of Castile absolute and independent on their subjects, they were so intent, that they now exclaimed with less vehemence against the exactions of the foreign ministers, than against the immense power and wealth of the nobles, and seemed to hope that they might make peace with Charles, by offering to enrich him with their spoils.

THE success which Padilla had met with in Book III, several small encounters, and in reducing some 1522. inconsiderable towns, helped to precipitate the members of the Junta into this measure, filling them with such confidence in the valour of their troops, that they hoped for an easy victory over the royalists. Padilla, that his army might not remain inactive, while flushed with good fortune, laid siege to Torrelobaton, a place of greater strength and importance than any that he had hitherto attacked, and which was defended by a sufficient garrison; and though the besieged made a desperate resistance, and the admiral attempted to relieve them, he took the town by storm, and gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers. If he had marched instantly with his victorious army to Tordefillas, the head quarters of the royalists, he could hardly have failed of making an effectual impression on their troops, surprized at the briskness of his operations, and far from being of sufficient strength to give him battle. But the fickleness and imprudence of the Junta prevented his taking this step. Incapable, like all popular associations, either of carrying on war, or of making peace, they listened again to overtures of accommodation, and even agreed to a short suspension of arms. This negociation terminated in nothing; but while it was carrying on, many of Padilla's soldiers, unacquainted

Elated with
their success
in some
small ren-
counters.

March 3,
1521.

Imprudence
of their con-
duct.

Book III. with the restraints of discipline, went off with
 1522. the booty which they had got at Torrelobaton;
 and others, wearied out by the unusual length
 of the campaign, deserted ¹⁷. The constable too
 had leisure to assemble his forces at Burgos,
 and to prepare every thing for marching; and as
 soon as the truce expired, he effected a junction
 with the Conde de Haro, in spite of all Padilla's
 efforts to prevent it. They advanced immediately
 towards Torrelobaton, and Padilla finding the
 number of his troops so diminished that he durst
 not risk a battle, attempted to retreat to Toro,
 which if he could have accomplished, the inva-
 sion of Navarre at that juncture by the French,
 and the necessity which the regents must have
 been under of detaching men to that kingdom,
 might have saved him from danger. But Haro,
 sensible how fatal would be the consequences of
 suffering him to escape, marched with such
 rapidity at the head of his cavalry, that he
 came up with him near Villalar, and without
 waiting for his infantry, advanced to the attack.
 Padilla's army, fatigued and disheartened by their
 precipitant retreat, which they could not distin-
 guish from a flight, happened at that time to be
 passing over a ploughed field, on which such a
 violent rain had fallen, that the soldiers sunk al-
 most to the knees at every step, and remained

The nobles
 attack the
 army of the
 Junta,
 April 23.

¹⁷ Sandov. 336.

exposed to the fire of some field-pieces which the royalists had brought along with them. All these circumstances so disconcerted and intimidated raw foldiers, that without facing the enemy, or making any resistance, they fled in the utmost confusion. Padilla exerted himself with extraordinary courage and activity in order to rally them, though in vain; fear rendering them deaf both to his threats and intreaties: Upon which, finding matters irretrievable, and resolving not to survive the disgrace of that day, and the ruin of his party, he rushed into the thickest of the enemy; but being wounded and dismounted, he was taken prisoner. His principal officers shared the same fate; the common soldiers were allowed to depart unhurt, the nobles being too generous to kill men who threw down their arms¹⁸. and defeat it.

THE resentment of his enemies did not suffer Padilla to linger long in expectation of what should befall him. Next day he was condemned to lose his head, though without any regular trial, the notoriety of the crime being supposed sufficient to supersede the formality of a legal

¹⁸ Sandov. 345, &c. P. Mart. Ep. 720. Miniana. Contin. p. 26. Epitome de la Vida y Hechos del Emper. Carlos V. por D. Juan Anton. de Vera y Zuriga. 4to. Madr. 1627. p. 19.

BOOK III. 1522. Padilla, their general, put to death. process. He was led instantly to execution, together with Don John Bravo, and Don Francis Maldonada, the former commander of the Segovians, and the latter of the troops of Salamanca. Padilla viewed the approach of death with calm but undaunted fortitude; and when Bravo, his fellow-sufferer, expressed some indignation at hearing himself proclaimed a traitor, he checked him, by observing, "That yesterday was the time to have displayed the spirit of gentlemen, this day to die with the meekness of Christians." Being permitted to write to his wife and to the community of Toledo, the place of his nativity, he addressed the former with a manly and virtuous tenderness, and the latter with the exultation natural to one who considered himself as a martyr for the liberties of his country¹⁹. After this,

¹⁹ The strain of these letters is so eloquent and high-spirited, that I have translated them for the entertainment of my readers.

The Letter of Don John Padilla to his Wife.

SEÑORA,

"IF your grief did not afflict me more than my own death, I should deem myself perfectly happy. For the end of life being certain to all men, the Almighty confers a mark of distinguishing favour upon that person, for whom he appoints a death such as mine, which, though lamented by many, is nevertheless acceptable unto him. It would require more time than I now have, to write any thing that

this, he submitted quietly to his fate. Most of Book III.
the Spanish historians, accustomed to ideas of 1522.
government, and of regal power, very different
from those upon which he acted, have been so
eager to testify their disapprobation of the cause
in which he was engaged, that they have neg-
lected, or have been afraid to do justice to his
virtues; and by blackening his memory, have
endeavoured to deprive him of that pity, which
is seldom denied to illustrious sufferers.

could afford you consolation: that my enemies will not
grant me, nor do I wish to delay the reception of that crown
which I hope to enjoy. You may bewail your own loss,
but not my death, which, being so honourable, ought not
to be lamented by any. My soul, for nothing else is left
to me, I bequeath to you. You will receive it, as the
thing in this world which you valued most. I do not write
to my father Pedro Lopez, because I dare not; for though
I have shewn myself to be his son in daring to lose my life,
I have not been the heir of his good fortune. I will not
attempt to say any thing more, that I may not tire the
executioner, who waits for me, and that I may not excite
a suspicion, that, in order to prolong my life, I lengthen
out my letter. My servant Sofia, an eye-witness, and to
whom I have communicated my most secret thoughts, will
inform you of what I cannot now write; and thus I rest,
expecting the instrument of your grief, and of my deliver-
ance."

His letter to the City of Toledo.

"To thee, the crown of Spain, and the light of the whole
world, free from the time of the mighty Goths: to thee,
who by shedding the blood of strangers, as well as thy own

BOOK III.

1522.

Ruin of the
party.

THE victory at Villalar proved as decisive as it was compleat. Valladolid, the most zealous of all the associated cities, opened its gates immediately to the conquerors, and being treated with great clemency by the regents, Medina del Campo, Segovia, and many other towns followed its example. This sudden dissolution of a confederacy, formed not upon slight disgusts, or upon trifling motives, into which the whole body of the people had entered, and which had been allowed time to acquire some degree of

blood, hast recovered liberty for thyself, and thy neighbouring cities; Thy legitimate son Juan de Padilla gives information, how by the blood of his body, thy ancient victories are to be refreshed. If fate hath not permitted my actions to be placed among your successful and celebrated exploits, the fault hath been in my ill fortune, not in my good will. This I request of thee as of a mother, to accept, since God hath given me nothing more to lose for thy sake, than that which I am now to relinquish. I am more solicitous about thy good opinion than about my own life. The shiftings of fortune, which never stands still, are many. But this I see with infinite consolation, that I, the least of thy children, suffer death for thee; and that thou hast nursed at thy breasts such as may take vengeance for my wrongs. Many tongues will relate the manner of my death, of which I am still ignorant, though I know it to be near. My end will testify what was my desire. My soul I recommend to thee as to the patroness of Christianity. Of my body I say nothing, for it is not mine. I can write nothing more, for at this very moment I feel the knife at my throat with greater dread of thy displeasure, than apprehension of my own pain." Sandov. Hist. vol. i. p. 478.

order and consistence by establishing a regular Book III.
 plan of government, is the strongest proof of 1522.
 the inability of its leaders, or of some secret
 discord reigning among its members. Though
 part of the army by which they had been sub-
 dued, was obliged, a few days after the battle,
 to march towards Navarre, in order to check
 the progress of the French in that kingdom, no-
 thing could prevail on the dejected commons of
 Castile to take arms again, and to embrace such
 a favourable opportunity of acquiring those
 rights and privileges for which they had ap-
 peared so zealous. The city of Toledo alone,
 animated by Donna Maria Pacheco, Padilla's Padilla's
wife defends
Toledo with
great spirit.
 widow, who, instead of bewailing her husband
 with a womanish sorrow, prepared to revenge his
 death, and to prosecute that cause in defence of
 which he had suffered, must be excepted. Re-
 spect for her sex, or admiration of her courage
 and abilities, as well as sympathy with her mis-
 fortunes, and veneration for the memory of her
 husband, secured her the same ascendant over
 the people which he had possessed. The pru-
 dence and vigour with which she acted, justified
 that confidence they placed in her. She wrote
 to the French general in Navarre, encouraging
 him to invade Castile by the offer of powerful
 assistance. She endeavoured by her letters and
 emissaries to revive the spirit and hopes of other

BOOK III. cities. She raised soldiers, and exacted a great
1522. sum from the clergy belonging to the cathedral, to defray the expence of keeping them on foot²⁰. She employed every artifice that could interest or inflame the populace. For this purpose she ordered crucifixes to be used by her troops instead of colours, as if they had been at war with infidels, and enemies of religion; she marched through the streets of Toledo with her son, a young child, clad in deep mourning seated on a mule, having a standard carried before him, representing the manner of his father's execution²¹. By all these means she kept the minds of the people in such perpetual agitation as prevented their passions from subsiding, and rendered them insensible of the dangers to which they were exposed, by standing alone in opposition to the royal authority. While the army was employed in Navarre, the Regents were unable to attempt the reduction of Toledo by force: and all their endeavours either to diminish Donna Maria's credit with the people, or to gain her by large promises, and the solicitations of her brother the Marquis de Mondejar, proved ineffectual. Upon the expulsion of the French out of Navarre, part of the army returned into Castile, and invested Toledo. Even this made no impression on the intrepid and obstinate courage of Donna Maria. She de-

²⁰ P. Mart. Ep. 727. ²¹ Sandoz. 375.

fended the town with vigour, her troops beat the Royalists in several sallies, and no progress was made towards reducing the place, until the clergy, whom she had highly offended by invading their property, ceased to support her. As soon as they received information of the death of William de Croy archbishop of Toledo, whose possession of that see was their chief grievance, and that the Emperor had named a Castilian to succeed him, they openly turned against her, and persuaded the people that she had acquired such influence over them by the force of enchantments, that she was assisted by a familiar demon which attended her in the form of a Negro-maid, and that by its suggestions she regulated every part of her conduct²². The credulous multitude whom their impatience of a long blockade, and despair of obtaining succours either from the cities formerly in confederacy with them, or from the French, rendered desirous of peace, took arms against her, and driving her out of the city, surrendered it to the Royalists. She retired to the citadel, which she defended with amazing fortitude four months longer; and when reduced to the last extremities, she made her escape in disguise, and fled to Portugal, where she had many relations²³.

Book III.

1522.

October 26.

Feb. 10,

1522.

²² P. Mart. Ep. 727.

²³ Sandoz. 375. P. Mart. Ep. 754. Ferrer. viii. 563.

BOOK III. UPON her flight, the citadel surrendered.

1522. Fatal effects of this civil war. Tranquillity was re-established in Castile; and this bold attempt of the commons, like all unsuccessful insurrections, contributed to confirm and extend the power of the crown, which it was intended to moderate and abridge. The Cortes still continued to make a part of the Castilian constitution, and were summoned to meet whenever the King stood in need of money; but instead of examining and redressing publick grievances, before they proceeded to grant any supply, the more courtly custom of voting a donative in the first place was introduced, and the Sovereign having obtained all that he wanted, never allowed them to enter into any inquiry, or to attempt any reformation injurious to his authority. The privileges which the cities had enjoyed were gradually circumscribed or abolished; their commerce began from this period to decline; and becoming less wealthy and less populous, they lost that power and influence which they had acquired in the Cortes.

The progress of the insurrections in Valencia.

WHILE Castile was exposed to the calamities of civil war, the kingdom of Valencia was torn by intestine commotions still more violent. The association which had been formed in the city of Valencia in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty, and which was distinguished

by the name of the Germanada, continued to Book III.
subsist after the Emperor's departure from Spain. 1522.

The members of it, upon pretext of defending the coasts against the descents of the Corsairs of Barbary, and under sanction of that permission, which Charles had rashly granted them, refused to lay down their arms. But as the grievances, which the Valencians aimed at redressing, proceeded from the arrogance and exactions of the nobility, rather than from any unwarrantable exercise of the royal prerogative, their resentment turned chiefly against the former. As soon as they were allowed the use of arms, and became conscious of their own strength, they grew impatient to take vengeance of their oppressors. They drove the nobles out of most of the cities, plundered their houses, wasted their lands, and assaulted their castles. They then proceeded to elect thirteen persons, one from each company of tradesmen established in Valencia, and committed the administration of government to them, under pretext that they would reform the laws, establish one uniform mode of dispensing justice without partiality, or regard to the distinction of ranks, and thus restore men to some degree of their original equality.

THE nobles were obliged to take arms in self-defence. Hostilities began, and were carried

BOOK III. on with all the rancour with which resentment
1522. at oppression inspired the one party, and the
idea of insulted dignity animated the other. As
no person of honourable birth, or of liberal
education, joined the Germanada, the councils
as well as troops of the confederacy were con-
ducted by low mechanicks, who acquired the
confidence of an enraged multitude chiefly by
the fierceness of their zeal, and the extravagance
of their proceedings. Among such men, the
laws introduced in civilized nations, in order to
restrain or moderate the violence of war, were
unknown or despised; and they committed the
wildest acts of cruelty and outrage.

The Emperor occupied with suppressing the
insurrection in Castile, which more immediately
threatened the subversion of his power and pre-
rogative, was unable to give much attention to
the tumults in Valencia, and left the nobility
of that kingdom to fight their own battles.
His viceroy, the Conde de Melito, had the
supreme command of the forces which the nobles
raised among their vassals. The Germanada
carried on the war during the years one thou-
sand five hundred and twenty and twenty-one,
with a more persevering courage, than could
have been expected from a body so tumultuary,
under the conduct of such leaders. They de-

feated the nobility in several actions, which, though not considerable, were extremely sharp. They repulsed them in their attempts to reduce different towns. But the nobles, by their superior skill in war, and at the head of troops more accustomed to service, gained the advantage in most of the rencounters. At length, they were joined by a body of Castilian cavalry, which the regents dispatched towards Valencia, soon after their victory over Padilla at Villalar, and by their assistance they acquired such superiority, that they entirely broke and ruined the Germanada. The leaders of the party were put to death, almost without any formality of legal trial, and suffered such cruel punishments, as the sense of recent injuries prompted the nobles to inflict. The government of Valencia was re-established in its ancient form²⁴.

IN Aragon, violent symptoms of the same spirit of disaffection and mutiny, which reigned in the other kingdoms of Spain, began to appear; but by the prudent conduct of the viceroy, Don John de Lanusa, they were so far composed, as to prevent their breaking out into any open insurrection. But in the island of Ma-

Appearances of disaffection in Aragon.

²⁴ Argenfola Annales de Aragon, cap. 75. 90. 99. 118. Sayas Annales de Aragon, cap. 5. 12. &c. P. Mart. Ep. lib. xxxiii. & xxxiv. passim. Ferrer. Hist. d'Espagne, viii. 542. 564. &c.

BOOK III. jorca, annexed to the crown of Aragon, the
 1522. same causes which had excited the commotions
 Formidable in Valencia, produced effects no less violent.
 insurrection The people, impatient of the hardships which
 in Majorca. they endured under the rigid jurisdiction of the
 nobility, took arms in a tumultuary manner;
 March 19, deposed their viceroy; drove him out of the
 1521. island; and massacred every gentleman who
 was so unfortunate as to fall into their hands.
 The obstinacy with which the people of Ma-
 jorca persisted in their rebellion, was equal
 to the rage with which they began it. Many
 and vigorous efforts were requisite in order to
 reduce them to obedience; and tranquillity
 was re-established in every part of Spain be-
 fore they could be brought to submit to their
 sovereign²⁵.

Causes
 which pre-
 vented the
 union of the
 malecon-
 tents.

WHILE the spirit of disaffection was so general
 among the Spaniards, and so many causes con-
 curred in precipitating them into such violent
 measures, in order to obtain the redress of their
 grievances, it may appear strange, that the
 malecontents in the different kingdoms should
 have carried on their operations without any
 mutual concert, or even any intercourse with

²⁵ Argensola Annales de Aragon, c. 113. Ferrer. Hist. viii.
 542. Sayas Annales de Aragon, cap. 7. 11. 14. 76. 81. Fer-
 reras Hist. d'Espagne, viii. 579, &c. 609.

each other. By uniting their councils and arms, they might have acted both with greater force, and with more effect. The appearance of a national confederacy would have rendered it no less respectable among the people than formidable to the crown; and the Emperor, unable to resist such a combination, must have complied with any terms which the members of it thought fit to prescribe. Many things, however, prevented the Spaniards from forming themselves into one body, and pursuing common measures. The people of the different kingdoms in Spain, though they were become the subjects of the same sovereign, retained, in full force, their national antipathy to each other. The remembrance of their ancient rivalry and hostilities was still recent, and the sense of reciprocal injuries so entire, as to be incompatible with their acting in confidence and concert. Each nation chose rather to depend on its own efforts, and to maintain the struggle alone, than to implore the aid of neighbours, whom they distrusted, and hated. At the same time, the forms of government in the several kingdoms of Spain were so different, and the grievances of which they complained, as well as the alterations and amendments which they attempted to introduce, so various, that it was not easy to bring them to unite in any common plan. To

BOOK III.

1522.

BOOK III. this disunion Charles was indebted for the pre-
 1522. servation of his Spanish crowns; and while each
 of the kingdoms followed separate measures, all
 of them were obliged at last to conform to the
 will of their sovereign.

The Empe-
 ror's pru-
 dent and ge-
 nerous be-
 haviour to-
 wards the
 malecon-
 tents.

THE arrival of the Emperor in Spain filled
 his subjects who had been in arms against him
 with deep apprehensions; from which he soon
 delivered them by an act of clemency, no less
 prudent than generous. After a rebellion so
 general, scarcely twenty persons, among so many
 criminals obnoxious to the law, had been
 punished capitally in Castile. Though strongly
 solicited by his council, Charles refused to shed
 any more blood by the hands of the execu-
 tioner; and published a general pardon, ex-
 tending to all crimes committed since the com-
 mencement of the insurrections, from which
 only fourscore were excepted. Even these he
 seems to have named, rather with an intention
 to intimidate others, than from any inclination
 to seize them; for when an officious courtier
 offered to inform him where one of the most
 considerable among them was concealed, he
 avoided it by a good-natured pleasantry; "Go,"
 says he, "I have now no reason to be afraid of
 that man, but he has some cause to keep at a
 distance from me, and you would be better
 employed in telling him that I am here, than in

Oct. 28.

acquainting me with the place of his retreat ²⁶. BOOK III.
 By this appearance of magnanimity, as well as 1522.
 by his care to avoid every thing which had
 disgusted the Castilians during his former resi-
 dence among them; by his address in assuming
 their manners, in speaking their language, and
 in complying with all their humours and cus-
 toms, he acquired an ascendant over them which
 hardly any of their native monarchs had ever
 attained, and brought them to support him in
 all his enterprizes with a zeal and valour to
 which he owed much of his success and gran-
 deur ²⁷.

ABOUT the time that Charles landed in Spain, Adrian sets
 Adrian set out for Italy to take possession of his out for
 new dignity. But though the Roman people Rome, and
 longed extremely for his arrival, they could his ill re-
 not, on his first appearance, conceal their sur- ception
 prize and disappointment. After being accus- there.
 tomed to the princely magnificence of Julius,
 and the elegant splendour of Leo, they beheld
 with contempt an old man of an humble deport-
 ment, of austere manners, an enemy to pomp,
 destitute of taste in the arts, and unadorned with
 any of the external accomplishments which the

²⁶ Sandov. 377, &c. Vida del Emper. Carlos por Don
 Juan. Anton. de Vera y Zuniga, p. 30.

²⁷ Ulloa Vita di Carlo V. p. 85.

BOOK III. vulgar expect in those raised to eminent stations ²⁸.

1522.

Nor did his political views and maxims seem less strange and astonishing to the pontifical ministers. He acknowledged and bewailed the corruptions which abounded in the church, as well as in the court of Rome, and prepared to reform both; he discovered no intention of aggrandizing his family; he even scrupled at retaining such territories as some of his predecessors had acquired by violence or fraud, rather than by any legal title, and for that reason he invested Francesco Maria de Rovare anew in the dutchy of Urbino, of which Leo had stripped him, and surrendered to the Duke of Ferrara several places wrested from him by the church ²⁹. To men little habituated to see princes regulate their conduct by the maxims of morality and the principles of justice, these actions of the new Pope appeared incontestable proofs of his weakness or inexperience. Adrian, who was a perfect stranger to the complex and intricate system of Italian politicks, and who could place no confidence in persons whose subtle refinements in business suited so ill with his natural simplicity and candour, being often embarrassed and irresolute in his deliberations,

²⁸ Guic. l. xv. 238. Jovii Vita Adriani, 117. Bellefor. Epitr. des Princ. 84. ²⁹ Guic. lib. xv. 240.

the opinion of his incapacity daily increased, Book III. until both his person and government became 1522. objects of ridicule among his subjects ³⁰.

ADRIAN, though devoted to the Emperor, He endeavoured to assume the impartiality which ^{vours to restore peace in Europe.} became the common father of Christendom, and laboured to reconcile the contending princes, that they might unite in a league against Solyman, whose conquest of Rhodes rendered him more formidable than ever to Europe ³¹. But this was an undertaking far beyond his abilities. To examine such a variety of pretensions, to adjust such a number of interfering interests, to extinguish the passions which ambition, emulation, and mutual injuries had kindled, to bring so many hostile powers to pursue the same scheme with unanimity and vigour, required not only uprightness of intention, but a great superiority both of understanding and address.

THE Italian states were no less desirous of peace than the Pope. The Imperial army under Colonna was still kept on foot, but as the Emperor's revenues in Spain, in Naples, and in the Low Countries, were either exhausted, or

³⁰ Jov. Vita Adr. 118. P. Mart. Ep. 774. Ruscelli Lettres des Princ. vol. i. 87. 96. 101.

³¹ Bellefor. Epitr. p. 86.

BOOK III. applied to some other purpose, it depended
 1522. entirely for pay and subsistence on the Italians. A great part of it was quartered in the ecclesiastical state, and monthly contributions were levied upon the Florentines, the Milanese, the Genoese, and Lucchese by the viceroy of Naples; and though all exclaimed against such oppression, and were impatient to be delivered from it, the dread of worse consequences from the rage of the army, or the resentment of the Emperor, obliged them to submit³².

A new league against the French King. So much regard, however, was paid to the Pope's exhortations, and to a bull which he issued, requiring all Christian princes to consent to a truce for three years, that the Imperial, the French, and English ambassadors at Rome were empowered to treat of that matter; but while they wasted their time in fruitless negotiations, their masters continued their preparations for war. The Venetians, who had hitherto adhered with great firmness to their alliance with Francis, being now convinced that his affairs in Italy were in a desperate situation, entered into a league against him with the Emperor; to which
 June 28. Adrian, at the instigation of his countryman and friend Charles de Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, who persuaded him that the only obstacles

³² Guic. l. xv. 238.

to peace arose from the ambition of the French King, soon after acceded. The other Italian states followed their example; and Francis was left, without a single ally, to resist the efforts of so many enemies, whose armies threatened, and whose territories encompassed, his dominions on every side ³³.

THE dread of this powerful confederacy, it was thought, would have obliged Francis to keep wholly on the defensive, or at least have prevented his entertaining any thoughts of marching into Italy. But it was the character of that Prince, too apt to become remiss, and even negligent on ordinary occasions, to rouse at the approach of danger, and not only to encounter it with spirit and intrepidity, qualities which never forsook him, but to provide against it with diligence and industry. Before his enemies were ready to execute any of their schemes, Francis had assembled a numerous army. His authority over his own subjects was far greater than that which Charles or Henry possessed over theirs. They depended on their diets, their cortes, and their parliaments for money, which was usually granted them in small sums, very slowly, and with much reluctance. The taxes

³³ Guic. l. xv. 241. 248.

BOOK III.

1523.

Suspended
upon the
discovery of
the constable
Bourbon's con-
spiracy.

His charac-
ter.

he could impose were more considerable, and levied with greater dispatch; so that on this, as well as on other occasions, his army was in the field while they were devising ways and means for raising theirs. Sensible of this advantage, Francis hoped to disconcert all the Emperor's schemes, by marching in person into the Milanese; and this bold measure, the more formidable because unexpected, could scarcely have failed of producing that effect. The vanguard of his army had already reached Lyons, and he himself was hastening after it with the second division of his troops, when the discovery of a domestick conspiracy which threatened the ruin of the kingdom, obliged him to stop short, and to alter his measures.

THE author of this dangerous plot was Charles Duke of Bourbon, lord high constable, whose noble birth, vast fortune, and high office, raised him to be the most powerful subject in France, as his great talents, equally suited to the field or the council, and his signal services to the crown, rendered him the most illustrious and deserving. The near resemblance between the King and him in many of their qualities, both being fond of war, and ambitious to excel in manly exercises, as well as their equality in age, and their proximity of blood, ought naturally to have secured him a considerable share in that

Monarch's favour. But unhappily Louise, the King's mother, had contracted a violent aversion to the house of Bourbon, for no better reason than because Anne of Bretagne, the Queen of Louis the Twelfth, with whom she lived in perpetual enmity, discovered a peculiar attachment to that branch of the royal family; and she had taught her son, who was too susceptible of any impression which she gave him, to view all the constable's actions with a mean and unbecoming jealousy. His distinguished merit at the battle of Marignano had not been sufficiently rewarded; he had been recalled from the government of Milan upon very frivolous pretences, and had met with a cold reception, which his prudent conduct in that difficult station did not deserve; the payment of his pensions had been suspended without any good cause; and during the campaign of one thousand five hundred and twenty-one, the King, as has already been related, had affronted him in presence of the whole army, by giving the command of the van to the Duke of Alençon. The constable, at first, bore these indignities with greater moderation than could have been expected from an high-spirited Prince, conscious of what was due to his rank, and to his services. Such a multiplicity of injuries, however, ex-

Book III.

1523.

The causes
of his dis-
affection:

BOOK III. 1523. hausted his patience; and inspiring him with thoughts of revenge, he retired from court, and began to hold a secret correspondence with some of the Emperor's ministers.

ABOUT that time the Dutcheſs of Bourbon happened to die without leaving any children. Louiſe, of a diſpoſition no leſs amorous than vindictive, and ſtill ſuſceptible of the tender paſſions at the age of forty-fix, began to view the Conſtable, a Prince as amiable as he was accompliſhed, with other eyes; and notwithstanding the great diſparity of their years, ſhe formed the ſcheme of marrying him. Bourbon, who might have expected every thing to which an ambitious mind can aſpire, from the doting fondneſs of a woman who governed her ſon and the kingdom, being incapable either of imitating the Queen in her ſudden tranſition from hatred to love, or of diſſembling ſo meanly, as to pretend affection for one who had perſecuted him ſo long with unprovoked malice, not only rejected the match, but embittered his refusal by ſome ſevere raillery on Louiſe's perſon and character. She finding herſelf not only contemned, but injured, her diſappointed love turned into hatred, and ſince ſhe could not marry, ſhe reſolved to ruin Bourbon.

FOR this purpose she consulted with the chan- Book III.
 cellor Du Prat, a man, who, by a base prosti- 1523.
 tution of great talents and of superior skill in
 his profession, had risen to that high office.
 By his advice a law-suit was commenced against
 the Constable, for the whole estate belonging to
 the house of Bourbon. Part of it was claimed
 in the King's name, as having fallen to the
 crown; part in that of Louise, as the nearest
 heir in blood of the deceased Dutchess. Both
 these claims were equally destitute of any foun-
 dation in justice; but Louise, by her sollicita-
 tions and authority, and Du Prat, by employ-
 ing all the artifices and chicanery of law, pre-
 vailed on the judges to order the estate to be
 sequestered. This unjust decision drove the Con-
 stable to despair, and to measures which despair
 alone could have dictated. He renewed his in-
 trigues in the Imperial court, and flattering
 himself that the injuries which he had suffered
 would justify his having recourse to any means
 in order to obtain revenge, he offered to transfer
 his allegiance from his natural sovereign to the
 Emperor, and to assist him in the conquest of
 France. Charles, as well as the King of Eng-
 land, to whom the secret was communicated²⁴,
 expecting prodigious advantages from his revolt,
 were ready to receive him with open arms, and
 spared neither promises nor allurements which

His secret
 negotiations
 with the
 Emperor.

²⁴ Rymer's Foeder. xiii: 794.

BOOK III. might help to confirm him in his resolution.

1523.

The Emperor offered him in marriage his sister Eleanor, the widow of the King of Portugal, with a vast portion. He was included as a principal in the treaty between Charles and Henry. The counties of Provence and Dauphiné were to be settled on him, with the title of King. The Emperor engaged to enter France by the Pyrenees, and Henry, supported by the Flemings, to invade Picardy; while twelve thousand Germans, levied at their common charge, were to penetrate into Burgundy, and to act in concert with Bourbon, who undertook to raise six thousand men among his friends and vassals in the heart of the kingdom. The execution of this deep-laid and dangerous plot was suspended, until the King should cross the Alps with the only army capable of defending his dominions; and as he was far advanced in his march for that purpose, France stood on the brink of destruction³⁵.

discovered.

HAPPILY for that kingdom, a negociation which had now been carrying on for several months, though conducted with the most profound secrecy, and communicated only to a few chosen confidants, could not altogether escape the observation of the rest of the Con-

³⁵ Thuani Hist. lib. i. c. 10. Heuter. Rer. Austr. lib. viii. c. 18. p. 207.

stable's numerous retainers, rendered more in- Book III.
 quisitive by finding that they were distrusted. 1523.

Two of these gave the King some intimation of a mysterious correspondence between their master and the Count de Rœux, a Flemish nobleman of great confidence with the Emperor. Francis, who could not bring himself to suspect that the first Prince of the blood would be so base as to betray the kingdom to its enemies, immediately repaired to Moulins, where the Constable was in bed, feigning indisposition, that he might not be obliged to accompany the King into Italy, and acquainted him of the intelligence which he had received. Bourbon, with great solemnity, and the most imposing affectation of ingenuity and candour, asserted his own innocence; and as his health, he said, was now more confirmed, he promised to join the army within a few days. Francis, open and candid himself, and too apt to be deceived by the appearance of those virtues in others, gave such credit to what he said, that he refused to arrest him, although advised to take that precaution by his wisest counsellors, and as if the danger had been over, he continued his march towards Lyons. The Con-September.
 stable set out soon after, seemingly with an intention to follow him; but turning suddenly to Flies to Italy.
 the left he crossed the Rhone, and after infinite fatigues and perils, escaped all the parties which

BOOK III. the King, sensible too late of his credulity, sent
1523. out to intercept him, and reached Italy in
safety ³⁶.

FRANCIS took every possible precaution to prevent the bad effects of the irreparable error which he had committed. He put garrisons in all the places of strength in the Constable's territories. He seized all the gentlemen whom he could suspect of being his associates; and as he had not hitherto discovered the whole extent of the conspirator's schemes, nor knew how far the infection had spread among his subjects, he was afraid that his absence might encourage them to make some desperate attempt, and for that reason relinquished his intention of leading his army in person into Italy.

French in-
vade the
Milanese.

HE did not, however, abandon his design on the Milanese; but appointed admiral Bonnivet to take the supreme command in his stead, and to march into that country with an army thirty thousand strong. Bonnivet did not owe this preferment to his abilities as a general; for of all the talents requisite to form a great commander, he possessed only personal courage, the lowest and the most common. But he was the

³⁶ Mém. de Bellay, p. 64, &c. Pasquier Recherches de la France, p. 481.

most accomplished gentleman in the French court, of agreeable manners, an insinuating address, and a sprightly conversation; and Francis, who lived in great familiarity with his courtiers, was so charmed with these qualities, that he honoured him, on all occasions, with the most partial and distinguishing marks of his favour. He was, besides, the implacable enemy of Bourbon; and as the King hardly knew whom to trust at that juncture, he thought the chief command could be lodged nowhere so safely as in his hands. BOOK III.
1523.

COLONNA, who was intrusted with the defence of the Milanese, his own conquest, was in no condition to resist such a formidable army. He was destitute of money sufficient to pay his troops, which were reduced to a small number by sickness or desertion, and had, for that reason, been obliged to neglect every precaution necessary for the security of the country. The only plan which he formed was to defend the passage of the river Tesino against the French; and as if he had forgotten how easily he himself had disconcerted a similar scheme formed by Lautrec, he promised with great confidence on its being effectual. But in spite of all his caution, it succeeded no better with him than with Lautrec. Bonnivet passed the river without loss, at a ford Their ill
conduct.

Book III. which had been neglected, and the Imperialists
 1523. retired to Milan, preparing to abandon the town
 as soon as the French should appear before it. By an unaccountable negligence, which Guicciardini imputes to infatuation³⁶, Bonnivet did not advance for three or four days, and lost the opportunity with which his good fortune presented him. The citizens recovered from their consternation; Colonna, still active at the age of fourscore, and Morone, whose enmity to France was indefatigable, were employed night and day in repairing the fortifications, in amassing provisions, in collecting troops from every quarter; and by the time the French approached, had put the city in a condition to stand the siege. Bonnivet, after some fruitless attempts on the town, which harassed his own troops more than the enemy, was obliged, by the inclemency of the season, to retire into winter-quarters.

Death of

Adrian VI.

DURING these transactions, Pope Adrian died; an event so much to the satisfaction of the Roman people, whose hatred or contempt of him augmented every day, that the night after his decease, they adorned the door of his chief physician's house with garlands, adding this inscription, **TO THE DELIVERER OF HIS COUNTRY**³⁷. The Cardinal de Medici instantly renewed his pretensions to the papal

³⁶ Guic. lib. xv. 254. ³⁷ Jovii Vit. Adr. 127.

dignity, and entered the conclave with high ex- Book III.
 pectations on his own part, and a general opi- 1523.
 nion of the people that they would be successful.
 But though supported by the Imperial faction,
 possessed of great personal interest, and capable
 of all the artifices, refinements, and corruption,
 which reign in those assemblies, the obstinacy
 and intrigues of his rivals protracted the con-
 clave to the unusual length of fifty days. The Election of
 address and perseverance of the Cardinal at last Clement
 surmounted every obstacle. He was raised to VII.
 the head of the church, and assumed the go- Nov. 28.
 vernment of it by the name of Clement VII.
 The choice was universally approved of. High
 expectations were conceived of a Pope, whose
 great talents, and long experience in business,
 seemed to qualify him no less for defending the
 spiritual interests of the church, exposed to im-
 minent danger by the progress of Luther's opi-
 nions, than for conducting its political opera-
 tions with the prudence requisite at such a diffi-
 cult juncture; and who, besides these advan-
 tages, rendered the ecclesiastical state more
 respectable, by having in his hands the govern-
 ment of Florence, together with the wealth of
 the family of Medici³⁸.

CARDINAL WOLSEY, not disheartened by the Wolsey dis-
 disappointment of his ambitious views at the appointed
 and filled

³⁸ Guic. l. xv. 263.

BOOK III. former election, had entertained more sanguine
1523. hopes of success on this occasion. Henry wrote
with resentment. to the Emperor, reminding him of his engagements to second the pretensions of his minister. Wolsey bestirred himself with activity suitable to the importance of the prize for which he contended, and instructed his agents at Rome to spare neither promises nor bribes in order to gain his end. But Charles had either amused him with vain hopes which he never intended to gratify, or he judged it impolitick to oppose a candidate who had such a prospect of succeeding as Medici; or perhaps the cardinals durst not venture to provoke the people of Rome, while their indignation against Adrian's memory was still fresh, by placing another *Ultra-montane* in the papal throne. Wolsey, after all his expectations and endeavours, had the mortification to see a Pope elected, of such an age, and of so vigorous a constitution, that he could not comfort himself much with the chance of surviving him. This second proof fully convinced Wolsey of the Emperor's insincerity, and it excited in him all the resentment which an haughty mind feels on being at once disappointed and deceived; and though Clement endeavoured to soothe his vindictive nature by granting him a commission to be legate in England during life, with such ample powers as vested in him almost the whole papal jurisdic-

tion in that kingdom, the injury he had received entirely dissolved the tie which had united him to Charles, and from that moment he meditated revenge. It was necessary, however, to conceal his intention from his master, and to suspend the execution of it, until, by a dexterous improvement of the incidents which might occur, he should be able gradually to alienate the King's affections from the Emperor. For this reason, he was so far from expressing any uneasiness on account of the repulse which he had met with, that he abounded on every occasion, private as well as publick, in declarations of his high satisfaction with Clement's promotion³⁹.

BOOK III.
1523.

HENRY had, during the campaign, fulfilled with great sincerity whatever he was bound to perform by the league against France, though more slowly than he could have wished. His thoughtless profusion, and total neglect of œconomy, reduced him often to great straits for money. The operations of war were now carried on in Europe in a manner very different from that which had long prevailed. Instead of armies suddenly assembled, which under distinct chieftains followed their Prince into the field for a short space, and served at their own cost, troops were now levied at great charge, and

Henry's
operations
in France.

³⁹ Fiddes's Life of Wolsey, 294, &c. Herbert.

BOOK III. received regularly considerable pay. Instead of
1523. impatience on both sides to bring every quarrel to the issue of a battle, which commonly decided the fate of open and defenceless countries, and allowed the barons, together with their vassals, to return to their ordinary occupations; towns were fortified with great art, and defended with much obstinacy; war, from a very simple, became a very intricate science; and campaigns grew of course to be more tedious, and less decisive. The expence which these alterations in the military system necessarily created, appeared intolerable to nations hitherto unaccustomed to the burden of heavy taxes. Hence proceeded the frugal, and even parsimonious spirit of the English parliaments in that age, which Henry, with all his authority, was seldom able to overcome. The commons, having refused at this time to grant him the supplies which he demanded, he had recourse to the ample and almost unlimited prerogative which the Kings of England then possessed, and by a violent and unusual exertion of it, raised the money he
Sept. 20. wanted. This, however, wasted so much time, that it was late in the season before his army, under the Duke of Suffolk, could take the field. Being joined by a considerable body of Flemings, Suffolk marched into Picardy, and Francis, from his extravagant eagerness to recover the Mila-

nese, having left that frontier almost unguarded, Book III.
 he penetrated as far as the banks of the river 1523.
 Oyse, within eleven leagues of Paris, filling that
 capital with consternation. But the arrival of
 some troops detached by the King, who was still
 at Lyons; the active gallantry of the French
 officers, who allowed the allies no respite night
 or day; the rigour of a most unnatural season,
 together with scarcity of provisions, compelled
 Suffolk to retire; and La Tremouille, who com- November.
 manded in those parts, had the glory of having,
 with an handful of men, checked the progress
 of a formidable army, and of driving them with
 ignominy out of the French territories⁴⁰.

THE Emperor's attempts upon Burgundy and And those
 Guienne were not more fortunate, though in of the Ger-
 both these provinces Francis was equally ill-pre- mans and
 pared to resist them. The conduct and valour Spaniards.
 of his generals supplied his want of foresight;
 the Germans who made an irruption into one
 of these provinces, and the Spaniards who
 attacked the other, were repulsed with great
 disgrace.

THUS ended the year 1523, during which End of the
 Francis's good fortune and success had been campaign.
 such as gave all Europe an high idea of his
 power and resources. He had discovered and

⁴⁰ Herbert. Mém. de Bellay, 73. &c.

BOOK III. disconcerted a dangerous conspiracy, the author
 1523. of which he had driven into exile, almost without
 an attendant; he had rendered abortive all the
 schemes of the powerful confederacy formed
 against him; he had protected his dominions
 when attacked on three different sides; and
 though his army in the Milanese had not made
 such progress as might have been expected from
 its superiority to the enemy in number, he had
 recovered and still kept possession of one half of
 that dutchy.

1524. THE ensuing year opened with events more
 Sentiments disastrous to France. Fontarabia was lost by
 of the new the cowardice or treachery of its governor. In
 Pope, February 27. Italy, the allies resolved on an early and vigo-
 rous effort in order to dispossess Bonnivet of
 that part of the Milanese which lies beyond the
 Tesino. Clement, who, under the pontificates
 of Leo and Adrian, had discovered an impla-
 cable enmity to France, began now to view the
 power which the Emperor was daily acquiring
 in Italy, with so much jealousy, that he refused
 to accede, as his predecessors had done, to the
 league against Francis, and forgetting private
 passions and animosities, laboured with the zeal
 which became his character, to bring about a
 reconciliation among the contending parties.
 But all his endeavours were ineffectual; a nu-
 merous army, to which each of the allies fur-
 nished

nished their contingent of troops, was assembled BOOK III.
 at Milan by the beginning of March. Lannoy, 1524.
 viceroy of Naples, took the command of it Imperial
 upon Colonna's death, though the chief direc- army ready
 tion of military operations was committed to to take the
 Bourbon, and the marquis de Pescara; the field early,
 latter, the ablest and most enterprising of the
 Imperial generals; the former inspired by his
 resentment with new activity and invention, and
 acquainted so thoroughly with the characters
 of the French commanders, the genius of their
 troops, and the strength as well as weakness of
 their armies, as to be of infinite service to the
 party which he had joined. But all these ad-
 vantages were nearly lost through the Emperor's
 inability to raise money sufficient for executing
 the various and extensive plans which he had
 formed. When his troops were commanded to Retarded by
 march, they mutinied against their leaders, de- a mutiny of
 manding the pay which was due to them for the troops.
 some months; and disregarding both the me-
 naces and intreaties of their officers, threatened
 to pillage the city of Milan, if they did not in-
 stantly receive satisfaction. Out of this difficul-
 ty the generals of the allies were extricated by
 Morone, who prevailing on his countrymen,
 over whom his influence was prodigious, to ad-
 vance the sum that was requisite, the army took
 the field ⁴¹.

⁴¹ Guic. l. xv. 267. Capella, 190.

BOOK III. BONNIVET was destitute of troops to oppose
 1524. this army, and still more of the talents which
 The French could render him an equal match for its leaders.
 obliged to After various movements and encounters, de-
 abandon the scribed with great accuracy by the contemporary
 Milanese. historians, a detail of which, at this distance of
 time, would be equally uninteresting and un-
 instructive, he was forced to abandon the strong
 camp in which he had intrenched himself at
 Biagrasa. Soon after, partly by his own mis-
 conduct, partly by the activity of the enemy,
 who harassed and ruined his army by continual
 skirmishes, while they carefully declined a battle
 which he often offered them; and partly by
 the caprice of 6000 Swiss, who refused to join
 his army, though within a day's march of it; he
 was reduced to the necessity of attempting a
 retreat into France through the valley of Aost.
 Just as he arrived on the banks of the Sessia,
 and began to pass that river, Bourbon and Pes-
 cara appeared with the vanguard of the allies,
 and attacked his rear with great fury. At the
 beginning of the charge, Bonnivet, while exert-
 ing himself with much valour, was wounded
 so dangerously as obliged him to quit the field;
 and the conduct of the rear was committed to
 the chevalier Bayard, who, though so much a
 stranger to the arts of a court that he never rose
 to the chief command, was always called, in

times of real danger, to the posts of greatest difficulty and importance. He put himself at the head of the men at arms, and animating them by his presence and example to sustain the whole shock of the enemy's troops, he gained time for the rest of his countrymen to make good their retreat. But in this service he received a wound which he immediately perceived to be mortal, and being unable to continue any longer on horseback, he ordered one of his attendants to place him under a tree, with his face towards the enemy; then fixing his eyes on the guard of his sword, which he held up instead of a cross, he addressed his prayers to God, and in this posture, which became his character both as a soldier and as a Christian, he calmly waited the approach of death. Bourbon, who led the foremost of the enemy's troops, found him in this situation, and expressed regret and pity at the sight. "Pity not me," cried the high-spirited chevalier, "I die as a man of honour ought, in the discharge of my duty: They indeed are objects of pity, who fight against their King, their country, and their oath." The marquis de Pescara, passing soon after, manifested his admiration of Bayard's virtues, as well as his sorrow for his fate, with the generosity of a gallant enemy; and finding that he could not be re-

BOOK III.
1524.

Death of the
chevalier
Bayard, and
ruin of the
French
army.

BOOK III. moved with safety from that spot, ordered a
 1524. tent to be pitched there, and appointed proper persons to attend him. He died, notwithstanding their care, as his ancestors for several generations had done, in the field of battle. Pescara ordered his body to be embalmed, and sent to his relations; and such was the respect paid to military merit in that age, that the Duke of Savoy commanded it to be received with royal honours in all the cities of his dominions; in Dauphiné, Bayard's native country, the people of all ranks came out in a solemn procession to meet it⁴².

BONNIVET led back the shattered remains of his army into France; and in one short campaign, Francis was stripped of all he had possessed in Italy, and left without one ally in that country.

Progress of
 the reformation in
 Germany.

WHILE the war, kindled by the emulation of Charles and Francis, spread over so many countries of Europe, Germany enjoyed a profound tranquillity, extremely favourable to the reformation, which continued to make progress daily. During Luther's confinement in his retreat at Warburgh, Carlostadius, one of his

⁴² Bellefor. Epitr. p. 73. Mém. de Bellay, 75. Oeuv. de Brant. tom. vi. 108, &c. Pasquier Recherches, p. 526

disciples, animated with the same zeal, but pos- Book III.
 fessed of less prudence and moderation than his 1524.
 master, began to propagate wild and dangerous
 opinions, chiefly among the lower people. En-
 couraged by his exhortations, they rose in fe-
 veral villages of Saxony, broke into the churches
 with tumultuary violence, and threw down and
 destroyed the images with which they were
 adorned. These irregular and outrageous pro-
 ceedings were so repugnant to all the Elector's
 cautious maxims, that, if they had not received
 a timely check, they could hardly have failed
 of alienating from the reformers a prince, no
 less jealous of his own authority, than afraid
 of giving offence to the Emperor, and other
 patrons of the ancient opinions. Luther, sen-
 sible of the danger, immediately quitted his
 retreat, without waiting for Frederick's per-
 mission, and returned to Wittemberg. Happily March 6.
 for the reformation, the veneration for his 1522.
 person and authority were still so great, that his
 appearance alone suppressed that spirit of extra-
 vagance which began to seize his party. Car-
 lostadius and his fanatical followers struck dumb
 by his rebukes, declared that they heard the
 voice of an angel, not of a man⁴³.

⁴³ Sleid. Hist. 51. Seckend. 195.

BOOK III

1524.

Luther
translates
the Bible.

BEFORE Luther left his retreat, he had begun to translate the Bible into the German tongue, an undertaking of no less difficulty than importance, of which he was extremely fond, and for which he was well qualified: He had a competent knowledge in the original languages; a thorough acquaintance with the style and sentiments of the inspired writers; and though his compositions in Latin were rude and barbarous, he was reckoned a great master of the purity of his mother tongue, and could express himself with all the elegance of which it is capable. By his own assiduous application, together with the assistance of Melancthon and several other of his disciples, he finished part of the New Testament in the year 1522; and the publication of it proved more fatal to the church of Rome, than that of all his own works. It was read with wonderful avidity and attention by persons of every rank. They were astonished at discovering how contrary the precepts of the Author of our religion are, to the inventions of those priests who pretended to be his vicegerents, and having now in their hand the rule of faith, they thought themselves qualified, by applying it, to judge of the established opinions, and to pronounce when they were conformable to the standard, or when they departed from it.

The great advantages arising from Luther's Book III. translation of the Bible, encouraged the advocates for reformation, in the other countries of Europe, to imitate his example, and to publish versions of the Scriptures in their respective languages. 1524.

ABOUT this time, Nuremberg, Francfort, Hamburg, and several other cities in Germany of the first rank, openly embraced the reformed religion, and by the authority of their magistrates abolished the mass, and the other superstitious rites of popery⁴⁴. The Elector of Brandenburg, the Dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, and Prince of Anhalt, became avowed patrons of Luther's opinions, and countenanced the preaching of them among their subjects. Several cities abolish the rites of the Popish church.

THE court of Rome beheld this growing defection with great concern; and Adrian's first care, after his arrival in Italy, had been to deliberate with the Cardinals, concerning the proper means of putting a stop to it. This Pope was profoundly skilled in scholastic theology, and having been early taken notice of on that account, he still retained such an excessive admiration of the science to which he owed his Measures employed by Adrian in order to check the progress of the Reformation.

⁴⁴ Seckend. 241. Chytrai Contin. Krantzii, 203.

BOOK III. reputation and success in life, that he considered
 1524. Luther's invectives against the schoolmen, particularly Thomas Aquinas, as little less than blasphemy. All the tenets of that doctor appeared to him so clear and irrefragable, that he supposed every person who called in question or contradicted them, to be either blinded by ignorance, or to be acting in opposition to the conviction of his own mind: Of course, no Pope was ever more bigotted or inflexible with regard to points of doctrine than Adrian; he not only maintained them as Leo had done, because they were ancient, or because it was dangerous for the church to allow of innovations, but he adhered to them with the zeal of a theologian, and with the tenaciousness of a disputant. At the same time his own manners being extremely simple, and uninfected with any of the vices which reigned in the court of Rome, he was as sensible of its corruptions as the reformers themselves, and viewed them with no less indignation. The brief which he addressed to the diet of the Empire assembled at Nuremberg, and the instructions he gave Cherigato, the nuncio whom he sent thither, were framed agreeably to these views. On the one hand, he condemned Luther's opinions with more asperity and rancour of expression than Leo had ever used; he severely censured the

November,

1522.

Princes of Germany for suffering him to spread his pernicious tenets, by their neglecting to execute the edict of the diet at Worms, and required them, if Luther did not instantly retract his errors, to destroy him with fire as a gangrened and incurable member, in like manner as Dathan and Abiram had been cut off by Moses, Ananias and Sapphira by the apostles, and John Hufs and Jerome of Prague by their ancestors⁴⁵. On the other hand, he, with great candour, and in the most explicit terms, acknowledged the corruptions of the Roman court to be the source from which had flowed most of the evils the church now felt or dreaded; he promised to exert all his authority towards reforming these abuses, with as much dispatch as the nature and inveteracy of the disorders would admit; and he requested of them to give him their advice with regard to the most effectual means of suppressing that new heresy which had sprung up among them⁴⁶.

THE members of the Diet, after praising the Pope's pious and laudable intentions, excused themselves for not executing the edict of Worms, by alleging that the prodigious increase of Luther's followers, as well as the aversion to

Diet of Nuremberg
propose a
general
council as
the proper
remedy.

⁴⁵ Fascic. Rer. Expet. & Fugiend. 342.

⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 345.

BOOK III. the court of Rome among their other subjects
 1524. on account of its innumerable exactions, rendered such an attempt not only dangerous, but impossible. They affirmed that the grievances of Germany, which did not arise from imaginary injuries, but from impositions no less real than intolerable, as his Holiness would learn from a catalogue of them which they intended to lay before him, called now for some new and efficacious remedy; and in their opinion, the only remedy adequate to the disease, or which afforded them any hopes of seeing the church restored to soundness and vigour, was a General Council. Such a council, therefore, they advised him, after obtaining the Emperor's consent, to assemble without delay, in one of the great cities of Germany, that all who had a right to be present might deliberate with freedom, and propose their opinions with such boldness, as the dangerous situation of religion at this juncture required⁴⁷.

Artifices of
 the nuncio
 to elude it.

THE nuncio, more artful than his master, and better acquainted with the political views and interests of the Roman Court, was startled at the proposition of a council; and easily foresaw how dangerous such an assembly might prove at a time when many openly denied the papal

⁴⁷ Fascic. Rer. Expet. & Fugiend. p. 346.

authority, and the reverence and submission BOOK III.
yielded to it visibly declined among all. For 1524.
that reason he employed his utmost address, in
order to prevail on the members of the Diet to
proceed themselves with greater severity against
the Lutheran heresy, and to relinquish their
proposal concerning a general council to be
held in Germany. They, perceiving the nuncio
to be more sollicitous about the interests of the
Roman court, than the tranquillity of the Em-
pire, or purity of the church, remained in-
flexible, and continued to prepare the catalogue
of their grievances to be presented to the Pope⁴⁸.
The nuncio, that he might not be the bearer
of a remonstrance so disagreeable to his court,
left Nuremberg abruptly, without taking leave
of the Diet⁴⁹.

THE secular Princes accordingly, for the
ecclesiasticks, although they gave no opposition,
did not think it decent to join with them, drew
up the list (so famous in the German annals)
of an hundred grievances, which the Empire
imputed to the iniquitous dominion of the papal
see. This list contained grievances much of
the same nature with that prepared under the
reign of Maximilian. It would be tedious to
enumerate each of them; they complained of

The Diet
present a list
of an hun-
dred griev-
ances to the
Pope.

⁴⁸ Fascic. Rer. Expet. & Fugient. 349. ⁴⁹ Ibid. 376.

BOOK III. the sums exacted for dispensations, absolutions,
 1524. and indulgences; of the expence arising from
 the law-suits carried to Rome; of the innumerable abuses occasioned by reservations, commendams, and annates; of the exemption from civil jurisdiction which the clergy had obtained; of the arts by which they brought all secular causes under the cognizance of the ecclesiastical judges; of the indecent and profligate lives which not a few of the clergy led, and of various other particulars, many of which have already been mentioned among the circumstances which contributed to the favourable reception, or to the quick progress of Luther's doctrines. In the end they concluded, that if the holy see did not speedily deliver them from those intolerable burdens, they had determined to endure them no longer, and would employ the power and authority with which God had intrusted them, in order to procure relief⁵⁰.

The recess
 of the Diet,
 March 6,
 1523.

INSTEAD of such severities against Luther and his followers as the nuncio had recommended, the *recess* or edict of the Diet contained only a general injunction to all ranks of men to wait with patience for the determinations of the council which was to be assembled, and in the mean time not to publish any new opinions

⁵⁰ Fascic. Rer. Expet. & Fugiend. 354.

contrary to the established doctrines of the church ; together with an admonition to all preachers to abstain from matters of controversy in their discourses to the people , and to confine themselves to the plain and instructive truths of religion⁵¹.

Book III.

1524.

THE reformers derived great advantage from the transactions of this diet , as they afforded them the fullest and most authentick evidence that gross corruptions prevailed in the court of Rome , and that the Empire was loaded by the clergy with insupportable burdens. With regard to the former , they had now the testimony of the Pope himself , that their invectives and accusations were not malicious or ill-founded. As to the latter , the representatives of the Germanick body , in an assembly where the patrons of the new opinions were far from being the most numerous or powerful , had pointed out as the chief grievances of the Empire , those very practices of the Romish church against which Luther and his disciples were accustomed to declaim. Accordingly , in all their controversial writings after this period , they often appealed to Adrian's declaration , and to the hundred grievances , in confirmation of whatever they advanced concerning the dissolute

This diet of great benefit to the Reformation.

⁵¹ Fascic. Rer. Expet. & Fugiend. 348.

BOOK III. manners, or insatiable ambition and rapaciousness of the papal court.

Adrian's
conduct
censured at
Rome.

At Rome, Adrian's conduct was considered as a proof of the most childish simplicity and imprudence. Men trained up amidst the artifices and corruptions of the papal court, and accustomed to judge of actions not by what was just, but by what was useful, were astonished at a Pontiff, who, departing from the wise maxims of his predecessors, acknowledged disorders which he ought to have concealed; and forgetting his own dignity, asked advice of those, to whom he was entitled to prescribe. By such an excess of impolitick sincerity, they were afraid that, instead of reclaiming, he would render the enemies of the church more presumptuous, and instead of extinguishing heresy, would weaken the foundations of the papal power, or stop the chief sources from which wealth flowed into the church¹². For this reason they industriously opposed all his schemes of reformation, and by throwing objections and difficulties in his way, endeavoured to retard or to defeat the execution of them. Adrian, amazed on the one hand, at the obstinacy of the Lutherans, disgusted on the other, with the manners and maxims of the Italians, and finding

¹² F. Paul. Hist. of Counc. p. 28. Pallavic. Hist. 58.

himself unable to correct either the one or the other, often lamented his own situation, and often looked back with pleasure on that period of his life when he was only dean of Louvain, a more humble but happier station, in which little was expected from him, and there was nothing to frustrate his good intentions³³.

Book III.
1524.

CLEMENT VII. his successor, excelled Adrian as much in the arts of government, as he was inferior to him in purity of life, or uprightness of intention. He was animated not only with the aversion which all Popes naturally bear to a council, but having gained his own election by means very uncanonical, he was afraid of an assembly that might subject it to a scrutiny which it could not stand. He determined, therefore, by every possible means to elude the demands of the Germans, both with respect to the calling of a council, and reforming abuses in the papal court, which the rashness and incapacity of his predecessor had brought upon him. For this purpose, he made choice of cardinal Campeggio, an artful man, often entrusted by the Popes with negotiations of importance, as his nuncio to the diet of the Empire assembled again at Nuremberg.

Clement's
measures against Lu-
ther, and
his dread of
a general
council.

³³ Jovii Vit. Adr. p. 118.

BOOK III. CAMPEGGIO, without taking any notice of
 1524. what had passed in the last meeting, exhorted
 February. the diet in a long discourse, to execute the edict
 The negoci- of Worms with vigour, as the only effectual
 ations of his means of suppressing Luther's doctrines. The
 nuncio in a diet, in return, desired to know the Pope's in-
 second diet tentions concerning the council, and the redress
 at Nurem- of the hundred grievances. The former, the
 berg, nuncio endeavoured to elude by general and
 unmeaning declarations of the Pope's resolution
 to pursue such measures as would be for the
 greatest good of the church. With regard to
 the latter, as the catalogue of grievances did
 not reach Rome till after Adrian's death, and
 of consequence had not been regularly laid
 before the present Pope, Campeggio took ad-
 vantage of this circumstance to decline making
 any definitive answer to them in Clement's
 name; though, at the same time, he observed
 that their catalogue of grievances contained
 many particulars extremely indecent and un-
 dutiful, and that the publishing it by their own
 authority was highly disrespectful to the Roman
 see. In the end, he renewed his demand of
 their proceeding with vigour against Luther
 and his adherents. But though an Ambassador
 from the Emperor, who was at that time very
 solicitous to gain the Pope, warmly seconded
 the nuncio, with many professions of his master's
 zeal

attended
 with little
 effect,

zeal for the honour and dignity of the papal see, the *recess* of the Diet was conceived in terms of almost the same import with the former, without enjoining any additional severity against Luther and his party ⁵⁴.

BOOK III.
1524.
April 18.

BEFORE he left Germany, Campeggio, in order to amuse and soothe the people, published certain articles for the amendment of some disorders and abuses which prevailed among the inferior clergy; but this partial reformation, which fell so far short of the expectations of the Lutherans, and of the demands of the Diet, gave no satisfaction, and produced little effect. The nuncio, with a cautious hand, tenderly lopped a few branches; the Germans aimed a deeper blow, and by striking at the root wished to exterminate the evil ⁵⁵.

⁵⁴ Seckend. 286. Sleid. Hist. 66. ⁵⁵ Seckend. 292.

and for the honour and dignity of the papal See III
to the effect of the Diet was conceived in terms
of about the same import with the former, and in
without containing any additional severity against
himself and his party.

Before he left Germany, Campagna, in
order to amuse and soothe the people, published
certain articles for the amendment of some of
the laws and statutes which prevailed among the
nobles and clergy; but this partial relaxation,
which fell far short of the expectations of the
nobles, and of the demands of the Diet,
gave no satisfaction, and produced little effect.
The emperor, with a cautious hand, tenderly
lopped a few branches; the Germans aimed a
deeper blow, and by striking at the root wished
to exterminate the evil.

See Campagna, and Campagna, 235.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REIGN
OF THE
EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK IV.

THE expulsion of the French, both out of the Milanese, and the republick of Genoa, 1524. was considered by the Italians as the conclusion of the war between Charles and Francis; and as they began immediately to be apprehensive of the Emperor, when they saw no power remaining in Italy capable either to controul or oppose him, they longed ardently for the re-establishment of peace. Having procured the restoration of Sforza to his paternal dominions, which had been their chief motive for entering into a confederacy with Charles, they plainly discovered

Views of
the Italian
states with
respect to
Charles and
Francis.

BOOK IV. their intention to contribute no longer towards
 1524. increafing the Emperor's fuperiority over his
 rival, which was already the object of their jea-
 loufy. The Pope efpecially, whose natural
 timidity increafed his fufpicions of Charles's de-
 figns, endeavoured by his remonftrances to in-
 fpire him with moderation, and incline him to
 peace.

Charles re-
 folves to in-
 vade France.

BUT the Emperor, intoxicated with fuccefs, and urged on by his own ambition, no lefs than by Bourbon's defire of revenge, contemned Clement's admonitions, and declared his refolution of ordering his army to pafs the Alps, and to invade Provence, a part of his rival's dominions, where, as he leaft dreaded an attack, he was leaft prepared to refift it. His moft experienced minifters diffuaded him from undertaking fuch an enterprize with a feeble army, and an exhausted treasury: But he relied fo much on having obtained the concurrence of the King of England, and on the hopes which Bourbon, with the confidence and credulity natural to exiles, entertained of being joined by a numerous body of his partifans as foon as the Imperial troops fhould enter France, that he perfifted obftinately in the meafure. Henry undertook to furnifh an hundred thoufand ducats towards defraying the expence of the expedition during

the first month, and had it in his choice either to continue the payment of that sum monthly, or to invade Picardy before the end of July with a powerful army. The Emperor engaged to attack Guienne at the same time with a considerable body of men; and if these enterprizes proved successful, they agreed, that Bourbon, besides the territories which he had lost, should be put in possession of Provence, with the title of King, and should do homage to Henry as the lawful King of France, for his new dominions. Of all the parts of this extensive but extravagant project, the invasion of Provence was the only one which was executed. For although Bourbon, with a scrupulous delicacy, altogether unexpected after the part which he had acted, positively refused to acknowledge Henry's title to the crown of France, and thereby absolved him from any obligation to promote the enterprize, Charles's eagerness to carry his own plan into execution did not in any degree abate. The army he employed for that purpose amounted only to eighteen thousand men; the supreme command of which was given to the Marquis de Pescara, with instructions to pay the greatest deference to Bourbon's advice in all his operations. Pescara passed the Alps without opposition, and entering Provence, laid siege to Marseilles. Bourbon had advised him rather to

Book IV.
1524.

The Imperialists enter
Provence,
August 12.

BOOK IV. march towards Lyons, in the neighbourhood of
 1524. which city his territories were situated, and where
 of course his influence was most extensive: But
 the Emperor was so desirous to get possession of
 a port, which would, at all times, secure him
 easy access into France, that by his authority he
 over-ruled the Constable's opinion, and directed
 Pescara to make the reduction of Marseilles his
 chief object¹.

Prudent
 measures of
 Francis.

FRANCIS, who foresaw, but was unable to
 prevent this attempt, took the most proper pre-
 cautions to defeat it. He laid waste the adja-
 cent country, in order to render it more difficult
 for the enemy to subsist their army; he razed
 the suburbs of the city, strengthened its fortifica-
 tions, and threw into it a numerous garrison
 under the command of brave and experienced
 officers. To these, nine thousand of the citi-
 zens, whom their dread of the Spanish yoke in-
 spired with contempt of danger, joined them-
 selves; by their united courage and industry,
 all the efforts of Pescara's military skill, and of
 Bourbon's activity and revenge, were rendered
 abortive. Francis, meanwhile, had leisure to
 assemble a powerful army under the walls of
 Avignon, and no sooner began to advance to-
 wards Marseilles, than the Imperial troops, ex-
 hausted by the fatigues of a siege which had

¹ Guic. l. xv. 273, &c. Mém. de Bellay, p. 80.

lasted forty days, weakened by diseases, and al-
most destitute of provisions, retired with preci-
pitation towards Italy ².

BOOK IV.
1524.
Imperialists
forced to
retreat,
Sept. 19.

IF, during these operations of the army in
Provence, either Charles or Henry had attacked
France in the manner which they had projected,
that kingdom must have been exposed to the
most imminent danger. But on this, as well as
on many other occasions, the Emperor found
that the extent of his revenues was not adequate
to the greatness of his power, or the ardour of
his ambition, and the want of money obliged
him, though with much reluctance, to circum-
scribe his plan, and to leave part of it unexe-
cuted. Henry, disgusted at Bourbon's refusing
to recognize his right to the crown of France;
alarmed at the motions of the Scots, whom the
solicitations of the French King had persuaded
to march towards the borders of England; and
no longer incited by his minister, who was be-
come extremely cool with regard to all the Em-
peror's interest, took no measures to support an
enterprize, of which, as of all new undertakings,
he had been at first excessively fond ³.

IF the King of France had been satisfied with
having delivered his subjects from this formi-

Francis elat-
ed with his
success.

² Guic. l. xv. 277. Ulloa Vita di Carlo V. p. 93.

³ Fiddes's Life of Wolsey. Append. N°. 70, 71, 72.

BOOK IV. dable invasion, if he had thought it enough to
 1524. shew all Europe the facility with which the internal strength of his dominions enabled him to resist the impression of a foreign enemy, even when seconded by the abilities and powerful efforts of a rebellious subject, the campaign, notwithstanding the loss of the Milanese, would have been far from ending ingloriously. But Francis, animated with courage more becoming a soldier than a general; pushed on by ambition, enterprising rather than considerate; and too apt to be elated with success; was fond of every undertaking that seemed bold and adventurous. Such an undertaking, the situation of his affairs, at that juncture, naturally presented to his view. He had under his command one of the most powerful and best appointed armies France had ever brought into the field, which he could not think of disbanding without having employed it in any service. The Imperial troops had been obliged to retire almost ruined by hard duty, and disheartened with ill success; the Milanese had been left altogether without defence; it was not impossible to reach that country before Pescara, with his shattered forces, could arrive there; or if fear should add speed to their retreat, they were in no condition to make head against his fresh and numerous troops; and Milan would now, as in former instances, submit without re-

Resolves to
 invade the
 Milanese.

sistance to a bold invader. These considera- Book IV.
 tions, which were not destitute of plausibility, 1524.
 appeared to his sanguine temper to be of the
 utmost weight. In vain did his wisest ministers
 and generals represent to him the danger of
 taking the field at a season so far advanced, with
 an army composed chiefly of Swiss and Germans,
 to whose caprices he would be subject in all his
 operations, and on whose fidelity his safety must
 absolutely depend. In vain did Louise of Savoy
 advance by hasty journies towards Provence,
 that she might exert all her authority in dissuad-
 ing her son from such a rash enterprize. Francis
 disregarded the remonstrances of his subjects; and
 that he might save himself the pain of an interview
 with his mother, whose counsels he had deter-
 mined to reject, he began his march before her
 arrival; appointing her, however, by way of atone-
 ment for that neglect, to be regent of the king-
 dom during his absence. Bonnivet, by his per-
 suasions, contributed not a little to confirm
 Francis in this resolution. That favourite, who
 strongly resembled his master in all the defective
 parts of his character, was led, by his natural im-
 petuosity, warmly to approve of such an enter-
 prize; and being prompted besides by his im-
 patience to revisit a Milanese lady, of whom he
 had been deeply enamoured during his late expe-
 dition, he is said, by his flattering descriptions of

Appoints
 his mother
 regent dur-
 ing his ab-
 sence.

BOOK IV. her beauty and accomplishments, to have inspired
 1524. Francis, who, was extremely susceptible of such
 passions, with an equal desire of seeing her ⁴.

Operations
 in the Mi-
 lanese.

THE French passed the Alps at Mount Cenis; and as their success depended on dispatch, they advanced with the greatest diligence. Pescara, who had been obliged to take a longer and more difficult route by Monaco and Final, was soon informed of their intention; and being sensible that nothing but the presence of his troops could save the Milanese, marched with such rapidity, that he reached Alva on the same day that the French army arrived at Vercelli. Francis, instructed by Bonnivet's error in the former campaign, advanced directly towards Milan, where the unexpected approach of an enemy so powerful, occasioned such consternation and disorder, that although Pescara entered the city with some of his best troops, he found that the defence of it could not be undertaken with any probability of success; and having thrown a garrison into the citadel, retired through one gate, while the French were admitted at another ⁵.

Embarrass-
 ing state of
 the Impe-
 rialists.

THESE brisk motions of the French monarch disconcerted all the schemes of defence which

⁴ Oeuv. de Brant. tom. vi. 253.

⁵ Mém. de Bellay, p. 81. Guic. l. xv. 278.

the Imperialists had formed. Never indeed, BOOK IV.
 did generals attempt to oppose a formidable in- 1524.
 vasion under such circumstances of disadvantage.

Though Charles possessed dominions more extensive than any other Prince in Europe, and had, at this time, no other army but that which was employed in Lombardy, which did not amount to sixteen thousand men, his prerogative in all his different states was so limited, and his subjects, without whose consent he could raise no taxes, discovered such unwillingness to burden themselves with new or extraordinary impositions, that even this small body of troops was in want of pay, of ammunition, of provisions, and of clothing. In such a situation, it required all the wisdom of Lannoy, the intrepidity of Pescara, and the implacable resentment of Bourbon, to preserve them from sinking under despair, and to inspire them with resolution to attempt, or sagacity to discover, what was essential to their safety. To the efforts of their genius, and the activity of their zeal, the Emperor was more indebted for the preservation of his Italian dominions than to his own power. Lannoy, by mortgaging the revenues of Naples, procured some money, which was immediately applied towards providing the army with whatever was most necessary *. Pescara, beloved and almost

* Guic. l. xv. 280.

BOOK IV. adored by the Spanish troops, exhorted them to
 1524. shew the world, by their engaging to serve the
 Emperor, in that dangerous exigency, without
 making any immediate demand of pay, that they
 were animated with sentiments of honour very
 different from those of mercenary soldiers; to
 which proposition, that gallant body of men,
 with an unexampled generosity, gave their con-
 sent⁷. Bourbon having raised a considerable
 sum, by pawning his jewels, set out for Germany,
 where his influence was great, that by his pre-
 sence he might hasten the levying of troops for
 the Imperial service⁸.

Francis be-
 sieges Pavia,
 Octobre 28.

FRANCIS, by a fatal error, allowed the Em-
 peror's generals time to derive advantage from
 all these operations. Instead of pursuing the
 enemy, who retired to Lodi on the Adda, an
 untenable post, which Pescara had resolved to
 abandon on his approach, he, in compliance
 with the opinion of Bonnivet, though contrary
 to that of his other generals, laid siege to Pavia
 on the Tefino; a town, indeed, of great import-
 ance, the possession of which would have opened
 to him all the fertile country lying on the banks
 of that river. But the fortifications of the place

⁷ Jovii Vit. Davali, lib. v. p. 386. Sandoz. vol. i. 621.
 Ulloa Vita di Carlo V. p. 94, &c. Vida del Emper.
 Carlos V. por Vera y Zuniga, p. 36.

⁸ Mém. de Bellay, p. 83.

were strong; it was dangerous to undertake a difficult siege, at so late a season; and the Imperial generals, sensible of its consequence, had thrown into the town a garrison composed of six thousand veterans, under the command of Antonio de Leyva, an officer of high rank; of great experience; of a patient, but enterprizing courage; fertile in resources; ambitious of distinguishing himself; and capable, for that reason, as well as from his having been long accustomed both to obey and to command, of suffering or performing any thing in order to procure success.

BOOK IV.

1524.

FRANCIS prosecuted the siege with obstinacy equal to the rashness with which he had undertaken it. During three months, every thing known to the engineers of that age, or that could be effected by the valour of his troops, was attempted in order to reduce the place; while Lannoy and Pescara, unable to obstruct his operations, were obliged to remain in such an ignominious state of inaction, that a Pasquinade was published at Rome, offering a reward to any person who could find the Imperial army, lost in the month of October in the mountains between France and Lombardy, and which had not been heard of since that time⁹.

His vigorous efforts.

⁹ Sandov. i. 6c8.

BOOK IV.

1524.

The town
gallantly
defended.

LEYVA, well acquainted with the difficulties under which his countrymen laboured, and the impossibility of their facing, in the field, such a powerful army as formed the siege of Pavia, placed his only hopes of safety in his own vigilance and valour. The efforts of both were extraordinary, and in proportion to the importance of the place, with the defence of which he was entrusted. He interrupted the approaches of the French by frequent and furious sallies. Behind the breaches made by their artillery, he erected new works, which appeared to be scarcely inferior in strength to the original fortifications. He repulsed the besiegers in all their assaults; and by his own example, brought not only the garrison, but the inhabitants, to bear the most intolerable fatigues, and to encounter the greatest dangers without murmuring. The rigour of the season conspired with his endeavours in retarding the progress of the French. Francis attempting to become master of the town, by diverting the course of the Tefino, which is its defence on one side, a sudden inundation of the river destroyed, in one day, the labour of many weeks, and swept away all the mounds which his army had raised with infinite toil, as well as at great expence^{1°}.

^{1°} Guic. l. xv. 280. Ulloa Vita di Carlo V. p. 95.

NOTWITHSTANDING the slow progress of the Book IV. besiegers, and the glory which Leyva acquired 1524. by his gallant defence, it was not doubted but The Pope that the town would at last be obliged to sur- concludes a render. The Pope, who already considered the treaty of French arms as superior in Italy, became im- neutrality. patient to disengage himself from his connection with the Emperor, of whose designs he was extremely jealous, and to enter into terms of friendship with Francis. As Clement's timid and cautious temper rendered him incapable of following the bold plan which Leo had formed, of delivering Italy from the yoke of both the rivals, he returned to the more obvious and practicable scheme of employing the power of the one to balance and to restrain that of the other. For this reason, he did not dissemble his satisfaction at seeing the French King recover Milan, as he hoped that the dread of such a neighbour would be some check upon the Emperor's ambition, which no power in Italy was now able to controul. He laboured hard to bring about a peace that would secure Francis in possession of his new conquests; and as Charles, who was always inflexible in the prosecution of his schemes, rejected the proposition with disdain, and with bitter exclamations against the Pope, by whose persuasions, while Cardinal de Medici, he had been induced to invade the Milanese, Clement immediately concluded a treaty

BOOK IV. of neutrality with the King of France, in which
1524. the republick of Florence was included ¹¹.

Francis
invades
Naples.

FRANCIS having, by this tranfaction, deprived the Emperor of his two most powerful allies, and at the same time having secured a passage for his own troops through their territories, formed a scheme of attacking the kingdom of Naples, hoping either to over-run that country, which was left altogether without defence, or that at least such an unexpected invasion would oblige the viceroy to recall part of the Imperial army out of the Milanese. For this purpose he ordered six thousand men to march under the command of John Stuart duke of Albany. But Pescara foreseeing that the effect of this diversion would depend entirely upon the operations of the armies in the Milanese, perswaded Lannoy to disregard Albany's motions ¹², and to bend his whole force against the King himself; so that Francis not only weakened his army very unseasonably by this great detachment, but incurred the reproach of engaging too rashly in chimerical and extravagant projects.

Efforts of
Pescara and
Bourbon.

By this time the garrison of Pavia was reduced to extremity; their ammunition and provisions began to fail; the Germans, of whom

¹¹ Guic. l. xv. 282. 285. ¹² Guic. l. xv. 285.

it was chiefly composed, having received no pay for seven months ¹³, threatened to deliver the town into the enemy's hands, and could hardly be restrained from mutiny by all Leyva's address and authority. The Imperial generals, who were no strangers to his situation, saw the necessity of marching without loss of time to his relief. This they had now in their power: Twelve thousand Germans, whom the zeal and activity of Bourbon taught to move with unusual rapidity, had entered Lombardy under his command, and rendered the Imperial army nearly equal to that of the French, greatly diminished by the absence of the body under Albany, as well as by the fatigues of the siege, and the rigour of the season. But the more their troops increased in number, the more sensibly did they feel the distress arising from want of money. Far from having funds for paying a powerful army, they had scarcely what was sufficient for defraying the charges of conducting their artillery, and of carrying their ammunition and provisions. The abilities of the generals, however, supplied every defect. By their own example, as well as by magnificent promises in name of the Emperor, they prevailed on the troops of all the different nations which composed their army, to take the field without pay;

¹³ Gold. Polit. Imperial. 875.

Book IV. they engaged to lead them directly towards the
 1525. enemy; and flattered them with the certain prospect of victory, which would at once enrich them with such royal spoils as would be an ample reward for all their services. The soldiers, sensible that, by quitting the army, they would forfeit the vast arrears due to them, and eager to get possession of the promised treasures, demanded a battle with all the impatience of adventurers who fight only for plunder¹⁴.

They march
 to attack
 the French,
 February 3.

THE Imperial generals, without suffering the ardour of their troops to cool, advanced immediately towards the French camp. On the first intelligence of their approach, Francis called a council of war, to deliberate what course he ought to take. All his officers of greatest experience were unanimous in advising him to retire, and to decline a battle with an enemy who courted it from despair. The leaders of the Imperialists, they observed, would either be obliged in a few weeks to disband an army, which they were unable to pay, and which they kept together only by the hope of pillage, or the soldiers enraged at the non-performance of the promises to which they had trusted, would rise in some furious mutiny which would allow

¹⁴ Eryci Peuteani Hist. Cisalpina ap. Grævii Thef. Antiquit. Ital. iii. p. 1170. 1179.

them to think of nothing but their own safety: BOOK IV.

That, meanwhile, he might encamp in some strong post, and waiting in safety the arrival of fresh troops from France and Switzerland, might, before the end of spring, take possession of all the Milanese, without danger, or bloodshed. But in opposition to them, Bonnivet, whose destiny it was to give counsels fatal to France during the whole campaign, represented the ignominy that it would reflect on their sovereign, if he should abandon a siege which he had prosecuted so long, or turn his back before an enemy to whom he was still superior in number; and insisted on the necessity of fighting the Imperialists rather than relinquish an undertaking, on the success of which the King's future fame depended. Unfortunately, Francis's notions of honour were delicate to an excess that bordered on what was romantick. Having often said that he would take Pavia, or perish in the attempt, he thought himself bound not to depart from that resolution; and rather than expose himself to the slightest imputation, he chose to forego all the advantages which were the certain consequences of a retreat, and determined to wait for the Imperialists before the walls of Pavia¹⁵.

¹⁵ Guic. l. xv. 291.

BOOK IV. THE Imperial generals found the French so
1525. strongly intrenched, that notwithstanding the
Battle of powerful motives which urged them on, they
Pavia. hesitated long before they ventured to attack
them; but at last the necessities of the besieged,
Febr. 24. and the murmurs of their own soldiers, obliged
them to put every thing to hazard. Never did
armies engage with greater ardour, or with an
higher opinion of the importance of the battle
which they were going to fight; never were
troops more strongly animated with emulation,
national antipathy, mutual resentment, and all
the passions which inspire obstinate bravery. On
the one hand, a gallant young Monarch, se-
conded by a generous nobility, and followed by
subjects to whose natural impetuosity, indignation
at the opposition which they had encountered,
added new force, contended for victory and
honour. On the other side, troops more com-
pletely disciplined, and conducted by generals
of greater abilities, fought from necessity, with
courage heightened by despair. The Imperialists,
however, were unable to resist the first efforts of
the French valour, and their firmest battalions
began to give way. But the fortune of the day
was quickly changed. The Swiss in the service
of France, unmindful of the reputation of their
country for fidelity and martial glory, aban-

doned their post in a cowardly manner. Leyva, Book IV. with his garrison, sallied out and attacked the rear of the French, during the heat of the action, with such fury as threw it into confusion; and Pescara falling on their cavalry, with the Imperial horse, among whom he had prudently intermingled a considerable number of Spanish foot, armed with the heavy muskets then in use, broke this formidable body by an unusual method of attack, against which they were wholly unprovided. The rout became universal; and resistance ceased in almost every part, but where the King was in person, who fought now, not for fame or victory, but for safety. Though wounded in several places, and thrown from his horse, which was killed under him, Francis defended himself on foot with an heroic courage. Many of his bravest officers gathering round him, and endeavouring to save his life at the expence of their own, fell at his feet. Among these was Bonnivet, the author of this great calamity, who alone died unlamented. The King exhausted with fatigue, and scarcely capable of farther resistance, was left almost alone, exposed to the fury of some Spanish soldiers, strangers to his rank, and enraged at his obstinacy. At that moment came up Pomperant, a French gentleman, who had entered together with Bourbon into the Em-

The French
army routed.

Book IV. 1525. peror's service, and placing himself by the side of the Monarch against whom he had rebelled, assisted in protecting him from the violence of the soldiers; at the same time beseeching him to surrender to Bourbon, who was not far distant. Imminent as the danger was which now surrounded Francis, he rejected with indignation the thoughts of an action which would have afforded such matter of triumph to his traiterous subjects; and calling for Lannoy, who happened likewise to be near at hand, gave up his sword to him; which he, kneeling to kiss the King's hand, received with profound respect; and taking his own sword from his side, presented it to him, saying: That it did not become so great a Monarch to remain disarmed in the presence of one of the Emperor's subjects¹⁶.

Francis
taken pri-
soner.

TEN thousand men fell on this day, one of the most fatal France had ever seen. Among these were many noblemen of the highest distinction, who chose rather to perish than to turn their backs with dishonour. Not a few were taken prisoners, of whom the most illustrious was Henry D'Albert, the unfortunate king of

¹⁶ Guic. l. xv. 292. Oeuv. de Brant. vi. 355. Mém. de Bellay, p. 90. Sandov. Hist i. 638, &c. P. Mart. Ep. 805. 810. Ruscelli Lettere de' Principi, ii. p. 70. Ulloa Vita di Carlo V. p. 98.

Navarre. A small body of the rear-guard made its escape under the command of the Duke of Alençon; the feeble garrison of Milan, on the first news of the defeat, retired without being pursued, by another road; and in two weeks after the battle, not a Frenchman remained in Italy. Book IV.
1525.

LANNOY, though he treated Francis with all the outward marks of honour due to his rank and character, guarded him with the utmost attention. He was solicitous, not only to prevent any possibility of his escaping, but afraid that his own troops might seize his person, and detain it as the best security for the payment of their arrears. In order to provide against both these dangers, he conducted Francis, the day after the battle, to the strong castle of Pizzichitonè near Cremona, committing him to the custody of Don Ferdinand Alarcon, general of the Spanish infantry, an officer of great bravery and of strict honour, but remarkable for that severe and scrupulous vigilance which such a trust required.

FRANCIS, who formed a judgment of the Emperor's dispositions by his own, was extremely desirous that Charles should be informed of his situation, fondly hoping that, from his generosity or sympathy, he should obtain speedy

BOOK IV. relief. The Imperial generals were no less impatient to give their sovereign an early account of the decisive victory which they had gained, and to receive his instructions with regard to their future conduct. As the most certain and expeditious method of conveying intelligence to Spain, at that season of the year, was by land, Francis gave the Commendador Pennalosa, who was charged with Lannoy's dispatches, a passport to travel through France.

Effects of
this victory
upon
Charles,
March 10.

CHARLES received the account of this signal and unexpected success that had crowned his arms, with a moderation, which, if it had been real, would have done him more honour than the greatest victory. Without uttering one word expressive of exultation, or of intemperate joy, he retired immediately into his chapel, and having spent an hour in offering up his thanksgivings to heaven, returned to the presence-chamber, which by that time was filled with grandees and foreign ambassadors, assembled in order to congratulate him. He accepted of their compliments with a modest deportment; he lamented the misfortune of the captive King, as a striking example of the sad reverse of fortune, to which the most powerful Monarchs are subject; he forbade any publick rejoicings, as indecent in a war carried on among Christians,

reserving them until he should obtain a victory Book IV.
equally illustrious over the Infidels; and seemed 1525.
to take pleasure in the advantage which he had
gained, only as it would prove the occasion of
restoring peace to Christendom¹⁷.

CHARLES, however, had already begun to The
form schemes in his own mind, which little schemes he
suited such external appearances. Ambition, began to
not generosity, was the ruling passion in his form.
mind; and the victory at Pavia opened such
new and unbounded prospects of gratifying it,
as allured him with irresistible force: But it
being no easy matter to execute the vast designs
which he meditated, he thought it necessary,
while proper measures were taking for that
purpose, to affect the greatest moderation, hop-
ing under that veil to conceal his real inten-
tions from the other Princes of Europe.

MEANWHILE France was filled with conster- The general
nation. The King himself had early transf- consterna-
mitted an account of the rout at Pavia, in a tion in
letter to his mother, delivered by Pennalosa, France.
which contained only these words, "Madam, all
is lost, except our honour." The officers who
made their escape, when they arrived from Italy,
brought such a melancholy detail of particulars

¹⁷ Sandoz, Hist. i. 641. Ulloa Vita di Carlo V. p. 110.

BOOK IV. as made all ranks of men sensibly feel the greatness and extent of the calamity. France, without its sovereign, without money in her treasury, without an army, without generals to command it, and encompassed on all sides by a victorious and active enemy, seemed to be on the very brink of destruction. But on that occasion the great abilities of Louise the regent saved the kingdom, which the violence of her passions had more than once exposed to the greatest danger. Instead of giving herself up to such lamentations as were natural to a woman so remarkable for her maternal tenderness, she discovered all the foresight, and exerted all the activity of a consummate politician. She assembled the nobles at Lyons, and animated them by her example, no less than by her words, with such zeal in defence of their country, as its present situation required. She collected the remains of the army which had served in Italy, ransomed the prisoners, paid their arrears, and put them in a condition to take the field. She levied new troops, provided for the security of the frontiers, and raised sums sufficient for defraying these extraordinary expences. Her chief care, however, was to appease the resentment, or to gain the friendship of the King of England; and from that quarter, the first ray of comfort broke in upon the French affairs.

The prudent conduct of the Regent.

THOUGH Henry, in entering into alliances with Charles or Francis, seldom followed any regular or concerted plan of policy, but was influenced chiefly by the caprice of temporary passions, such occurrences often happened as recalled his attention towards that equal balance of power which it was necessary to keep between the two contending potentates, the preservation of which he always boasted to be his peculiar office. He had expected that his union with the Emperor might afford him an opportunity of recovering some part of those territories in France which had belonged to his ancestors, and for the sake of such an acquisition he did not scruple to give his assistance towards raising Charles to a considerable pre-eminence above Francis. He had never dreamt, however, of any event so decisive and so fatal as the victory at Pavia, which seemed not only to have broken, but to have annihilated the power of one of the rivals; so that the prospect of the sudden and entire revolution which this would occasion in the political system, filled him with the most disquieting apprehensions. He saw all Europe in danger of being over-run by an ambitious Prince, to whose power there now remained no counterpoise; and though he himself might at first be admitted, in quality of an ally, to some share in the spoils of the captive monarch, it

Book IV.

1525.

Effects of
the victory
at Pavia on
Henry VIII.

Book IV. was easy to discern, that with regard to the man-
1525. ner of making the partition, as well as his security for keeping possession of what should be allotted him, he must absolutely depend upon the will of a confederate, to whose forces his own bore no proportion. He was sensible that if Charles were permitted to add any considerable part of France to the vast dominions of which he was already master, his neighbourhood would be much more formidable to England than that of the ancient French Kings; while, at the same time, the proper balance on the continent, to which England owed both its safety and importance, would be entirely lost. Concern for the situation of the unhappy monarch co-operated with these political considerations; his gallant behaviour in the battle of Pavia had excited an high degree of admiration, which never fails of augmenting sympathy; and Henry, naturally susceptible of generous sentiments, was fond of appearing as the deliverer of a vanquished enemy from a state of captivity. The passions of the English minister seconded the inclinations of the Monarch. Wolsey, who had not forgotten the disappointment of his hopes in two successive conclaves, which he imputed chiefly to the Emperor, thought this a proper opportunity of taking revenge; and Louise, courting the friendship of England with

such flattering submissions as were no less agree- Book IV.
able to the King than to the Cardinal, Henry 1525.
gave her secret assurances that he would not
lend his aid towards oppressing France, in its
present helpless state, and obliged her to pro-
mise that she would not consent to dismember
the kingdom even in order to procure her son's
liberty¹⁸.

BUT as Henry's connections with the Em-
peror made it necessary to act in such a manner,
as to save appearances, he ordered publick re-
joicings to be made in his dominions for the
success of the Imperial arms; and as if he had
been eager to seize the present opportunity of
ruining the French monarchy, he sent ambassa-
dors to Madrid, to congratulate with Charles
upon his victory; to put him in mind, that he,
as his ally, engaged in one common cause, was
entitled to partake in the fruits of it; and to
require that, in compliance with the terms of
their confederacy, he would invade Guienne
with a powerful army, in order to give him pos-
session of that province. At the same time, he
offered to send the Princess Mary into Spain or
the Low Countries, that she might be educated
under the Emperor's direction, until the conclu-
sion of the marriage agreed on between them;

¹⁸ Mém. de Bellay, 94. Guic. l. xvi. 318. Herbert.

BOOK IV. and in return for that mark of his confidence
 1525. he insisted that Francis should be delivered to him, in consequence of that article in the treaty of Bruges, whereby each of the contracting parties was bound to surrender all usurpers to him whose rights they had invaded. It was impossible that Henry could expect that the Emperor would listen to these extravagant demands, which it was neither his interest, nor in his power to grant. They appear evidently to have been made with no other intention than to furnish him with a decent pretext for entering into such engagements with France as the juncture required ¹⁹.

On the Ita-
 lian powers.

IT was among the Italian states, however, that the victory at Pavia occasioned the greatest alarm and terror. That balance of power on which they relied for their security, and which it had been the constant object of all their negotiations and refinements to maintain, was destroyed in a moment. They were exposed by their situation to feel the first effects of the uncontrouled authority which Charles had acquired. They observed many symptoms of a boundless ambition in that young Prince, and were sensible that, as Emperor, or King of Naples, he could either form dangerous pretensions upon each of

¹⁹ Herbert, p. 64.

their territories, or invade them with great advantage. They deliberated, therefore, with much sollicitude concerning the means of raising such a force as might obstruct his progress²⁰. But their consultations, conducted with little union, and executed with less vigour, had no effect. Clement, instead of pursuing the measures which he had concerted with the Venetians for securing the liberty of Italy, was so intimidated by Lannoy's threats, or overcome by his promises, that he entered into a separate treaty, binding himself to advance a considerable sum in return for certain emoluments which he was to receive. The money was instantly paid; Charles afterwards refused to ratify the treaty; and the Pope remained exposed at once to infamy and to ridicule; to the former, because he had deserted the publick cause for his private interest; to the latter, because he had been a loser by that unworthy action²¹.

Book IV.
1525.
April 1.

How dishonourable soever the artifice might be which was employed in order to defraud the Pope of this sum, it came very seasonably into the viceroy's hands, and put it in his power to

Mutiny in
the Imperial
army.

²⁰ Guic. l. xvi. 300. Ruscelli Lettere de' Princ. ii. 74. 76, &c. Thuani Hist. lib. i. c. 11. ²¹ Guic. lib. xvi. 305. Mauroceni Histor. Venet. ap. Istoricì delle cose Venez. V. 131. 136.

Book IV. extricate himself out of an imminent danger.

1525. Soon after the defeat of the French army, the German troops, which had defended Pavia with such meritorious courage and perseverance, growing insolent upon the fame that they had acquired, and impatient of relying any longer on fruitless promises with which they had been so often amused, rendered themselves masters of the town, with a resolution to keep possession of it as a security for the payment of their arrears; and the rest of the army discovered a much stronger inclination to assist, than to punish the mutineers. By dividing among them the money exacted from the Pope, Lannoy quieted the tumultuous Germans; but though this satisfied their present demands, he had so little prospect of being able to pay them or his other forces regularly for the future, and was under such continual apprehensions of their seizing the person of the captive King, that, not long after, he was obliged to dismiss all the Germans and Italians in the Imperial service²². Thus, from a circumstance that now appears very singular, but arising naturally from the constitution of most European governments in the sixteenth century, while Charles was suspected by all his neighbours of aiming at universal monarchy, and while he was really forming vast projects

²² Guic. l. xvi. p. 302.

of this kind, his revenues were so limited, that he could not keep on foot his victorious army, though it did not exceed twenty-four thousand men. BOOK IV.
1525.

DURING these transactions, Charles, whose pretensions to moderation and disinterestedness were soon forgotten, deliberated, with the utmost solicitude, how he might derive the greatest advantages from the misfortune of his adversary. Some of his counsellors advised him to treat Francis with the magnanimity that became a victorious Prince, and instead of taking advantage of his situation to impose rigorous conditions, to dismiss him on such equal terms, as would bind him for ever to his interest by the ties of gratitude and affection, more forcible as well as more permanent than any which could be formed by extorted oaths and involuntary stipulations. Such an exertion of generosity is not, perhaps, to be expected in the conduct of political affairs, and it was far too refined for that Prince to whom it was proposed. The more obvious, but less splendid, scheme of endeavouring to make the utmost of Francis's calamity, had a greater number in the council to recommend it, and suited better with the Emperor's genius. But though Charles adopted this plan, he did not execute it in a proper

The Emperor's deliberations concerning the manner of improving his victory:

BOOK IV,

1525.

manner. Instead of making one great effort to penetrate into France with all the forces of Spain and the Low Countries; instead of crushing the Italian states before they recovered from the consternation which the success of his arms had occasioned, he had recourse to the artifices of intrigue and negociation. This proceeded partly from necessity, partly from the natural disposition of his mind. The situation of his finances, at that time, rendered it extremely difficult to carry on any extraordinary armament; and he himself having never appeared at the head of his armies, the command of which he had hitherto committed to his generals, was averse to bold and martial counsels, and trusted more to the arts with which he was acquainted. He laid, besides, too much stress upon the victory of Pavia, as if by that event the strength of France had been annihilated, its resources exhausted, and the kingdom itself, no less than the person of its Monarch, had been subjected to his power.

The rigorous terms
he proposes
to Francis.

FULL of this opinion, he determined to set the highest price upon Francis's freedom, and having ordered the Count de Roeux to visit the captive King in his name, he instructed him to propose the following articles, as the conditions on which he would grant him his liberty: That he should restore Burgundy to the Emperor, from whose ancestors it had been unjustly wrested; that he

should surrender Provence and Dauphiné, that they might be erected into an independent kingdom for the Constable Bourbon; that he should make full satisfaction to the King of England for all his claims, and finally renounce the pretensions of France to Naples, Milan, or any other territory in Italy. When Francis, who had hitherto flattered himself that he should be treated by the Emperor with the generosity becoming one great Prince towards another, heard these rigorous conditions, he was so transported with indignation, that drawing his dagger hastily, he cried out: "It were better that a King should die thus." Alarcon, alarmed at his vehemence, laid hold on his hand; but though he soon recovered greater composure, he still declared, in the most solemn manner, that he would rather remain a prisoner during life, than purchase liberty by such ignominious concessions²³.

THIS mortifying discovery of the Emperor's intentions, greatly augmented Francis's chagrin and impatience under his confinement, and must have driven him to absolute despair, if he had not laid hold of the only thing which could still administer any comfort to him. He persuaded himself that the conditions which Roeux had proposed, did not flow originally from Charles himself, but were dictated by the rigorous po-

Francis carried prisoner to Spain.

²³ Mém. de Bellay, 94. Ferreras Hist. ix. 43.

BOOK IV. licy of his Spanish council, and that therefore he
1525. might hope, in one personal interview with him, to do more towards hastening his own deliverance, than could be effected by long negotiations passing through the subordinate hands of his ministers. Relying on this supposition, which proceeded from too favourable an opinion of the Emperor's character, he offered to visit him in Spain, and was willing to be carried thither as a spectacle to that haughty nation. Lannoy employed all his address to confirm him in these sentiments; and concerted with him in secret the manner of executing this resolution. Francis was so eager on a scheme which seemed to open some prospect of liberty, that he furnished the gallies necessary for the voyage, Charles being at that time unable to set any fleet to sea. The viceroy without communicating his intentions either to Bourbon or Pescara, conducted his prisoner towards Genoa, under pretence of transporting him by sea to Naples; though soon after they set sail, he ordered the pilots to steer directly for Spain; but the wind happening to carry them near the French coast, the unfortunate monarch had a full prospect of his own dominions, towards which he cast many a sorrowful and desiring look. They landed, however, in a few days at Barcelona, and soon after Francis was lodged, by the Emperor's command, August 24. in the Alcazar of Madrid, under the care of the

vigilant Alarcon, who guarded him with as much Book IV.
circumspection as ever ²⁴. 1525.

A FEW days after Francis's arrival at Ma- Henry VIII.
drid, and when he began to be sensible of his concludes a
having relied without foundation on the Empe- treaty with
ror's generosity, Henry VIII. concluded a treaty France, in
with the regent of France, which afforded him order to pro-
some hope of liberty from another quarter. cure his re-
Henry's extravagant demands had been received lease.
at Madrid with that neglect which they deserved,
and which he probably expected. Charles, in-
toxicated with prosperity, no longer courted him
in that respectful and submissive manner which
pleased his haughty temper. Wolsey, no less
haughty than his master, was highly irritated at
the Emperor's discontinuing his wonted caresses
and professions of friendship to himself. These
slight offences, added to the weighty consider-
ations formerly mentioned, induced Henry to
enter into a defensive alliance with Louise, in
which all the differences between him and her
son were adjusted; at the same time he engaged
that he would employ his best offices in order to
procure the deliverance of his new ally from a
state of captivity ²⁵.

²⁴ Mém. de Bellay, 95. P. Mart. Ep. ult. Guic. lib.
xvi. 323. ²⁵ Herbert. Fiddes's Life of Wolsey, 337.

BOOK IV.

1525.

Morone's
intrigues in
order to
overturn the
Emperor's
power in
Italy.

WHILE the open defection of such a powerful confederate affected Charles with deep concern, a secret conspiracy was carrying on in Italy, which threatened him with consequences still more fatal. The restless and intriguing genius of Morone, chancellor of Milan, gave rise to this. His revenge had been amply gratified by the expulsion of the French out of Italy, and his vanity no less soothed by the re-establishment of Sforza, to whose interest he had attached himself in the duchy of Milan. The delays, however, and evasions of the Imperial court in granting Sforza the investiture of his new-acquired territories, had long alarmed Morone; these were repeated so often, and with such apparent artifice, as became a full proof to his suspicious mind, that the Emperor intended to strip his master of that rich country which he had conquered in his name. Though Charles, in order to quiet the Pope and Venetians, no less jealous of his designs than Morone, gave Sforza, at last, the investiture which had been so long desired; the charter was clogged with so many reservations, and subjected him to such grievous burdens, as rendered the Duke of Milan a dependent on the Emperor, rather than a vassal of the Empire, and afforded him hardly any other security for his possessions, than the good pleasure of an ambitious superior. Such an ac-

cession of power as would have accrued from the addition of the Milanese to the kingdom of Naples, was considered by Morone as fatal to the liberties of Italy, no less than to his own power and importance. Full of this idea, he began to revolve in his mind the possibility of rescuing Italy from the yoke of foreigners, the darling scheme, as has been already observed, of the Italian politicians in that age, and which it was the great object of their ambition to accomplish. If to the glory of having been the chief instrument of driving the French out of Milan, he could add that of delivering Naples from the dominion of the Spaniards, he thought that nothing would be wanting to complete his fame. His fertile genius soon suggested to him a project for that purpose; a difficult, indeed, and daring one, but for that very reason more agreeable to his bold and enterprising temper.

BOURBON and Pescara were equally enraged at Lannoy's carrying the French King into Spain without their knowledge. The former, being afraid that the two Monarchs might in his absence, conclude some treaty in which his interests would be entirely sacrificed, hastened to Madrid, in order to guard against that danger. The latter, on whom the command of the army now devolved, was obliged to remain in Italy; but, in every company, he gave vent to his indigna-

His negotiations with Pescara.

BOOK IV, 1525. tion against the viceroy, in expressions full of rancour and contempt; he accused him, in a letter to the Emperor, of cowardice in the time of danger, and of insolence after a victory, towards the obtaining of which he had contributed nothing either by his valour or his conduct; nor did he abstain from bitter complaints against the Emperor himself, who had not discovered, as he imagined, a sufficient sense of his merit, nor bestowed any adequate reward on his services. It was on this disgust of Pescara, that Morone founded his whole system. He knew the boundless ambition of his nature, the vast extent of his abilities in peace as well as war, and the intrepidity of his mind, capable alike of undertaking and of executing the most desperate designs. The cantonment of the Spanish troops on the frontier of the Milanese, gave occasion to many interviews between him and Morone, in which the latter took care frequently to turn the conversation to the transactions subsequent to the battle of Pavia, a subject upon which the marquis always entered willingly, and with passion; and Morone observing his resentment to be uniformly violent, artfully pointed out and aggravated every circumstance that could increase its fury. He painted, in the strongest colours, the Emperor's want of discernment, as well as of gratitude, in preferring

Lannoy to him, and in allowing that presumptuous Fleming to dispose of the captive King, without consulting the man to whose bravery and wisdom Charles was indebted for the glory of having him in his power. Having warmed him by such discourses, he then began to insinuate, that now was the time to be avenged for these insults, and to acquire immortal renown as the deliverer of his country from the oppression of strangers; that the states of Italy, weary of the ignominious and intolerable dominion of barbarians, were at last ready to combine in order to vindicate their own independence; that their eyes were fixed on him as the only leader whose genius and good fortune could ensure the happy success of that noble enterprize; that the attempt was no less practicable than glorious, it being in his power so to disperse the Spanish infantry, the only body of the Emperor's troops in Italy, through the villages of the Milanese, that, in one night, they might be destroyed by the people, who, having suffered much from their exactions and insolence, would gladly undertake this service; that he might then, without opposition, take possession of the throne of Naples, the station destined for him, and a reward not unworthy the restorer of liberty to Italy; that the Pope, of whom that kingdom held, and whose predecessors had disposed of it

BOOK IV.

1525.

BOOK IV. on many former occasions, would willingly grant
 1525. him the right of investiture; that the Venetians, the Florentines, the Duke of Milan, to whom he had communicated the scheme, together with the French, would be the guarantees of his right; that the Neapolitans would naturally prefer the government of one of their countrymen, whom they loved and admired, to that odious dominion of strangers, to which they had been so long subjected; and that the Emperor, astonished at a blow so unexpected, would find that he had neither troops nor money to resist such a powerful confederacy²⁶.

Betrayed
 and taken
 prisoner by
 Pescara.

PESCARA, amazed at the boldness and extent of the scheme, listened attentively to Morone, but with the countenance of a man lost in profound and anxious thought. On the one hand, the infamy of betraying his sovereign under whom he bore such high command, deterred him from the attempt; on the other, the prospect of obtaining a crown allured him to venture upon it. After continuing a short space in suspense, the least commendable motives, as is usual after such deliberations, prevailed, and ambition triumphed over honour. In order,

²⁶ Guic. l. xvi. 325. Jovii. Vita Davali, p. 417. Oeuv. de Brantome, iv. 171. Ruscelli Lettere de' Princ. ii. 91. Thuani Hist. lib. i. c. 11. P. Heuter. Rer. Austr. lib. ix. c. 3. p. 207.

however, to throw a colour of decency on his conduct, he insisted that some learned casuists should give their opinion, "Whether it was lawful for a subject to take arms against his immediate sovereign, in obedience to the Lord Paramount of whom the kingdom itself was held." Such a resolution of the case, as he expected, was soon obtained from the divines and civilians both of Rome and Milan; the negotiation went forward; and measures seemed to be taking with great spirit for the speedy execution of the design.

DURING this interval, Pescara, either shocked at the treachery of the action that he was going to commit, or despairing of its success, began to entertain thoughts of abandoning the engagements which he had come under. The indisposition of Sforza, who happened at that time to be taken ill of a distemper which was thought mortal, confirmed this resolution, and determined him to make known the whole conspiracy to the Emperor, deeming it more prudent to expect the duchy of Milan from him as the reward of this discovery, than to aim at a kingdom to be purchased by a series of crimes. This resolution, however, proved the source of actions hardly less criminal and ignominious. The Emperor, who had already received full information concerning the conspiracy from

BOOK IV. other hands, seemed to be highly pleased with
1525. Pescara's fidelity, and commanded him to continue his intrigues for some time with the Pope and Sforza, both that he might discover their intentions more fully, and be able to convict them of the crime with greater certainty. Pescara, conscious of guilt, as well as sensible how suspicious his long silence must have appeared at Madrid, durst not decline that dishonourable office; and, to his eternal disgrace, was obliged to act the meanest of all parts, that of seducing with a purpose to betray. Considering the abilities of the persons with whom he had to deal, the part was scarcely less difficult, than base; but he acted it with such address, as to deceive even the penetrating eye of Morone, who relying with full confidence on his sincerity, visited him at Novara, in order to put the last hand to their machinations. Pescara received him in an apartment where Antonio de Leyva was placed behind the tapestry, that he might overhear and bear witness to their conversation; as Morone was about to take leave, that officer suddenly appeared, and to his astonishment arrested him prisoner in the Emperor's name. He was conducted to the castle of Pavia; and Pescara, who had so lately been his accomplice, had now the assurance to interrogate him as his judge. At the same time, the Emperor declared Sforza to have forfeited all right to the

dutchy of Milan, by his engaging in a con- BOOK IV.
spiracy against the sovereign of whom he held; 1525.
Pescara, by his command, seized on every place
in the Milanese, except the castles of Cremona
and Milan, which the unfortunate Duke attempt-
ing to defend, were closely blockaded by the
Imperial troops ²⁷.

BUT though this unsuccessful conspiracy, in- The rig-
stead of stripping the Emperor of what he rous treat-
already possessed in Italy, contributed to extend ment of
his dominions in that country, it shewed him the Francis in
necessity of coming to some agreement with the Spain.
French King, unless he would draw on himself
a confederacy of all Europe, which the progress
of his arms, and his ambition, now as undisguised
as it was boundless, filled with general alarm.
He had not hitherto treated Francis with the
generosity which that monarch expected, and
hardly with the decency due to his station. In-
stead of displaying the sentiments becoming a
great Prince, he seems to have acted with the
mercenary art of a corsair, who, by the rigorous
usage of his prisoners, endeavours to draw from
them an high price for their ransom. The cap-
tive King was confined in an old castle, under a
keeper whose formal austerity of manners ren-
dered his vigilance still more disgusting. He was

²⁷ Guic. l. xvi. 329. Jovii Hist. 319. Capella, lib. v.
p. 200.

BOOK IV. 1525. allowed no exercise but that of riding on a mule, surrounded with armed guards on horseback. Charles, on pretence of its being necessary to attend the Cortes assembled in Toledo, had gone to reside in that city, and suffered several weeks to elapse without visiting Francis, though he solicited an interview with the most pressing and submissive importunity. So many indignities made a deep impression on an high-spirited Prince; he began to lose all relish for his usual amusements; his natural gaiety of temper forsook him; and after languishing for some time, he was seized with a dangerous fever, during the violence of which he complained constantly of the unexpected and unprincely rigour with which he had been treated, often exclaiming, that now the Emperor would have the satisfaction of his dying a prisoner in his hands, without having once deigned to see his face. The physicians, at last, despaired of his life, and informed the Emperor that they saw no hope of his recovery, unless he were gratified with regard to that point on which he seemed to be so strongly bent. Charles, solicitous to preserve a life, with which all his prospects of farther advantage from the victory of Pavia must have terminated, immediately consulted his ministers concerning the course to be taken. In vain did the chancellor Gattinara, the most able among them,

Endangers
his life.

represent to him the indecency of his visiting Francis, if he did not intend to set him at liberty immediately upon equal terms; in vain did he point out the infamy to which he would be exposed, if motives of avarice or ambition should prevail on him to give the captive Monarch this mark of attention and sympathy, for which humanity and generosity had pleaded so long without effect. The Emperor, less delicate, or less sollicitous about reputation than his minister, set out for Madrid to visit his prisoner. The interview was short; Francis being too weak to bear a long conversation, Charles accosted him in terms full of affection and respect, and gave him such promises of speedy deliverance and princely treatment, as would have reflected the greatest honour upon him, if they had flowed from another source, Francis grasped at them with the eagerness natural in his situation; and cheered with this gleam of hope, began to revive from that moment, recovering rapidly his wonted health ²⁸.

BOOK IV.
1525.

Sept. 28.
The Emperor visits him.

He had soon the mortification to find, that his confidence in the Emperor was not better founded than formerly. Charles returned instantly to Toledo; all negotiations were carried

The constable Bourbon arrives at Madrid.

²⁸ Guic. l. xvi. 339. Sandov. Hist. i. 665.

BOOK IV. on by his minister; and Francis was kept in
1525. as strict custody as ever. A new indignity,

and that very galling, was added to all those he had already suffered. Bourbon arriving in Spain about this time, Charles, who had so long refused to visit the King, received his rebellious subject with the most studied respect.

Nov. 15. He met him without the gates of Toledo, embraced him with the greatest affection, and placing him on his left hand, conducted him to his apartment. These marks of honour to him, were so many insults to the unfortunate Monarch; which he felt in a very sensible manner. It afforded him some consolation, however, to observe, that the sentiments of the Spaniards differed widely from those of their sovereign. That generous people detested Bourbon's crime. Notwithstanding his great talents and important services, they shunned all intercourse with him, to such a degree, that Charles having desired the marquis de Villena to permit Bourbon to reside in his palace while the court remained in Toledo, he politely replied, "That he could not refuse gratifying the Emperor in that request;" but added with a Castilian dignity of mind, that he must not be surprized if the moment the Constable departed, he should burn to the ground a house, which, having been polluted

polluted by the presence of a traitor, became an unfit habitation for a man of honour²⁹. ” 1525. Book IV.

CHARLES himself, nevertheless, seemed to have it much at heart to reward Bourbon's services in a signal manner. But as he insisted, in the first place, on the accomplishment of the Emperor's promise of giving him in marriage his sister Eleanora, Queen dowager of Portugal, the honour of which alliance had been one of his chief inducements to rebel against his lawful sovereign; as Francis, in order to prevent such a dangerous union, had offered, before he left Italy, to marry that Princess; and as Eleanora herself discovered an inclination rather to match with a powerful Monarch, than with his exiled subject; all these interfering circumstances created great embarrassment to Charles, and left him hardly any hope of extricating himself with decency. But the death of Pescara, who, at the age of thirty-six, left behind him the reputation of being one of the greatest generals and ablest politicians of that century, happened opportunely at this juncture for his relief. By that event, the command of the army in Italy became vacant, and Charles, always fertile in resources, persuaded Bourbon, who was in no condition to dispute his will, to

Appointed
general of
the Impe-
rial army
in Italy.

December

²⁹ Guic. l. xvi. 335.

BOOK IV. accept the office of general in chief there, together with a grant of the dutchy of Milan forfeited by Sforza, and in return for these to relinquish all hopes of marrying the Queen of Portugal³⁰.

Negociations for procuring Francis's liberty.

THE chief obstacle that stood in the way of Francis's liberty was the Emperor's continuing to insist so peremptorily on the restitution of Burgundy, as a preliminary to that event. Francis often declared that he would never consent to dismember his state; and that even if he should so far forget the duties of a Monarch as to come to such a resolution, the fundamental laws of the kingdom would prevent its taking effect. On his part he was willing to make an absolute cession to the Emperor of all his pretensions in Italy and the Low Countries; he promised to restore Bourbon all his lands which had been confiscated; he renewed his proposal of marrying the Emperor's sister, the Queen dowager of Portugal; and engaged to pay a great sum by way of ransom for his own person. But all mutual esteem and confidence between the two monarchs were now entirely lost; there appeared on the one hand, a rapacious ambition labouring to avail itself of every favourable circumstance; on the other, suspicion and resent-

³⁰ Sandov. Hist. i. 676. Oeuv. de Brant. iv. 249.

ment, standing perpetually on their guard; so that the prospect of bringing their negociations to an issue, seemed to be far distant. The Dutchess of Alençon, the French King's sister, whom Charles permitted to visit her brother in his confinement, employed all her address, in order to procure his liberty on more reasonable terms. Henry of England interposed his good offices to the same purpose; but both with so little success, that Francis in despair took suddenly the resolution of resigning his crown with all its rights and prerogatives to his son the Dauphin, determining rather to end his days in prison, than to purchase his freedom by concessions unworthy of a King. The deed for this purpose he signed with legal formality at Madrid, empowering his sister to carry it into France, that it might be registered in all the parliaments of the kingdom; and at the same time intimating his intention to the Emperor, he desired him to name the place of his confinement, and to assign him a proper number of attendants during the remainder of his days³¹.

Book IV.
1525.

Francis in
despair re-
solves to
resign his
crown.

THIS resolution of the French King had great effect; Charles began to be sensible, that by pushing rigour to excess, he might defeat his own measures, and instead of the vast ad.

Charles
alarmed.

³¹ This paper is published in Mémoires Historiques, &c. par M. l'Abbé Raynal, tom. ii. p. 151.

BOOK IV. 1525. advantages which he hoped to draw from ransom-
 ing a powerful Monarch, he might at last find
 in his hands a Prince without dominions or
 revenues. About the same time, one of the
 King of Navarre's domestics happened by an
 extraordinary exertion of fidelity, courage, and
 address, to procure his master an opportunity
 of escaping from the prison in which he had
 been confined ever since the battle of Pavia.
 This convinced the Emperor, that the most
 vigilant attention of his officers might be eluded
 by the ingenuity or boldness of Francis, or his
 attendants, and one unlucky hour might de-
 prive him of all the advantages which he had
 been so solicitous to obtain. By these confi-
 derations, he was induced to abate somewhat
 of his former demands. On the other hand,
 Francis's impatience under confinement daily
 increased; and having received certain intel-
 ligence of a powerful league forming against his
 rival in Italy, he grew more compliant with
 regard to concessions, trusting, that, if he could
 once obtain his liberty, he would soon be in a
 condition to resume whatever he had yielded.

1526.

Treaty of
Madrid.

As these were the views and sentiments of
 the two Monarchs, the treaty which procured
 Francis his liberty was signed at Madrid on the
 fourteenth of January, one thousand five hun-
 dred and twenty-six. The article with regard

to Burgundy, which had hitherto created the greatest difficulty, was compromised, Francis engaging to restore that dutchy with all its dependencies in full sovereignty to the Emperor; and Charles consenting that this restitution should not be made until the King was set at liberty: In order to secure the performance of this, as well as the other conditions in the treaty, Francis agreed that at the same instant he himself was released, he would deliver as hostages to the Emperor, his eldest son the Dauphin, his second son the Duke of Orleans, or in lieu of the latter, twelve of his principal nobility, to be named by Charles. The other articles swelled to a great number, and though not of such importance, were extremely rigorous. Among these the most remarkable were, that Francis should renounce all his pretensions in Italy; that he should disclaim any title which he had to the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois; that within six weeks after his release, he should restore to Bourbon and his adherents, all their goods, moveable and immoveable, and make them full reparation for the damages which they had sustained by the confiscation of them; that he should use his interest with Henry D' Albert to relinquish his pretensions to the crown of Navarre, and should not for the future assist him in any attempt to recover it; that there should

Book IV.

1526.

BOOK IV. be established between the Emperor and Francis
 1526. a league of perpetual friendship and confederacy, with a promise of mutual assistance in every case of necessity. That in corroboration of this union, Francis should marry the Emperor's sister, the Queen Dowager of Portugal; that Francis should cause all the articles of this treaty to be ratified by the States, and registered in the parliaments of his kingdom; that upon the Emperor's receiving this ratification, the hostages should be set at liberty; but in their place, the Duke of Angoulême, the King's third son, should be delivered to Charles, that in order to manifest, as well as to strengthen the amity between the two Monarchs, he might be educated at the Imperial court; and that if Francis did not, within the time limited, fulfil the stipulations in the treaty, he should promise, upon his honour and oath, to return into Spain, and to surrender himself again a prisoner to the Emperor³².

Sentiments
 of that age
 with respect
 to it.

By this treaty, Charles flattered himself that he had not only effectually humbled his rival, but that he had taken such precautions as would for ever prevent his re-attaining any formidable degree of power. The opinion, which the wisest

³² Recueil des Trait. tom. ii. 112. Ulloa Vita di Carlo V. p. 102, &c.

politicians formed concerning it, was very different; they could not persuade themselves that Francis, after obtaining his liberty, would execute articles against which he had struggled so long, and to which even amidst the horrors of captivity he had consented with such reluctance. Ambition and resentment, they knew, would conspire in prompting him to violate the hard conditions to which he had been constrained to submit; nor would arguments and casuistry be wanting to represent that which was so manifestly advantageous, to be necessary and just. If one part of Francis's conduct had been known, at that time, this opinion might have been founded, not in conjecture, but in certainty. A few hours before he signed the treaty, he assembled such of his counsellors as were then in Madrid, and having exacted from them a solemn oath of secrecy, he made a long enumeration in their presence of the dishonourable arts, as well as unprincely rigour, which the Emperor had employed in order to ensnare or intimidate him. For that reason, he took a formal protest in the hands of notaries, that his consent to the treaty should be considered as an involuntary deed, and be deemed null and void³³. By this disingenuous artifice, for which even the treatment that he had met with was

Book IV.

1526.

Francis
secretly pro-
tests against
the validity
of it.

³³ Recueil des Trait. tom. ii. p. 107.

BOOK IV. no apology, Francis endeavoured to satisfy his
1526. honour, and conscience in signing the treaty,
and to provide at the same time a pretext on
which to break it.

GREAT, meanwhile, were the outward demonstrations of love and confidence between the two Monarchs; they appeared often together in public; they frequently had long conferences in private; they travelled in the same litter, and joined in the same amusements. But amidst these signs of peace and friendship, the Emperor still harboured suspicion in his mind. Though the ceremonies of the marriage between Francis and the Queen of Portugal were performed soon after the conclusion of the treaty, Charles would not permit him to consummate it until the return of the ratification from France. Even then Francis was not allowed to be at full liberty; his guards were still continued; though carested as a brother-in-law, he was still watched like a prisoner; and it was obvious to attentive observers, that an union, in the very beginning of which there might be discerned such symptoms of jealousy and distrust, could not be cordial, or of long continuance³⁴.

Ratified in
France.

ABOUT a month after the signing of the treaty, the Regent's ratification of it was brought

³⁴ Guic. l. xvi. 353.

from France; and that wise Princess, preferring, on this occasion, the publick good to domestic affection, informed her son, that, instead of the twelve noblemen named in the treaty, she had sent the Duke of Orleans along with his brother the Dauphin to the frontier, as the kingdom could suffer nothing by the absence of a child, but must be left almost incapable of defence, if deprived of its ablest statesmen, and most experienced generals, whom Charles had artfully included in his nomination. At last Francis took leave of the Emperor, whose suspicion of the King's sincerity increasing, as the time of putting it to the proof approached, he endeavoured to bind him still faster by exacting new promises, which, after those he had already made, the French monarch was not slow to grant. He set out from Madrid, a place which the remembrance of many afflicting circumstances rendered peculiarly odious to him, with the joy natural on such an occasion, and began the long-wished-for journey towards his own dominions. He was escorted by a body of horse under the command of Alarcon, who, as the King drew near the frontiers of France, guarded him with more scrupulous exactness than ever. When he arrived at the river Andaye, which separates the two kingdoms, Lautrec appeared on the opposite bank with a

BOOK IV
1526.

Francis set
at liberty.

BOOK IV. guard of horse equal in number to Alarcon's.

1526. An empty bark was moored in the middle of the stream; the attendants drew up in order on the opposite banks; at the same instant, Lannoy with eight gentlemen put off from the Spanish, and Lautrec with the same number from the French side of the river; the former had the King in his boat; the latter, the Dauphin and Duke of Orleans; they met in the empty vessel; the exchange was made in a moment: Francis, after a short embrace to his children, leaped into Lautrec's boat, and reached the French shore. He mounted that instant a Turkish horse, waved his hand over his head, and with a joyful voice crying aloud several times, "I am yet a King," galloped full speed to St. John de Luz, and from thence to Bayonne. This event, no less impatiently desired by the French nation than by their monarch, happened on the eighteenth of March, a year and twenty-two days after the fatal battle of Pavia³⁵.

The Emperor's marriage with Isabella of Portugal.

SOON after the Emperor had taken leave of Francis, and permitted him to begin his journey towards his own dominions, he set out for Seville, in order to solemnize his marriage with Isabella, the daughter of Emanuel, the late King of Portugal, and the sister of John III. who had succeeded him in the throne of that

³⁵ Sandov. Hist. i. 735. Guic. l. xvi. 355.

kingdom. Isabella was a Princess of uncommon beauty and accomplishments; and as the Cortes both in Castile and Aragon had warmly solicited their sovereign to marry, the choice of a wife so nearly allied to the royal blood of both kingdoms, was extremely acceptable to his subjects. The Portuguese, fond of this new connection with the first Monarch in Christendom, granted him an extraordinary dowry with Isabella, amounting to nine hundred thousand crowns, a sum, which, from the situation of his affairs at that juncture, was of no small consequence to the Emperor. The marriage was celebrated with that splendour and gaiety, which became a great and youthful Prince. Charles lived with Isabella in perfect harmony, and treated her on all occasions with much distinction and regard³⁶.

BOOK IV.
1526.

March 12.

DURING these transactions, Charles could hardly give any attention to the affairs of Germany, though it was torn in pieces by commotions, which threatened the most dangerous consequences. By the feudal institutions, which still subsisted almost unimpaired in the Empire, the property of lands was vested in the Princes and free-barons. Their vassals held of them by

Affairs of
Germany.

Grievances

³⁶ Ulloa Vita di Carlo V. p. 106. Belcarius Com. Rer. Gallic. p. 565. Spalatinus ap. Struv. Corp. Hist. Germ. ii. 1081.

BOOK IV. the strictest and most limited tenures; while
1526. the great body of the people was kept in a
of the pea- state but little removed from absolute servitude.
fants. In some places of Germany, people of the lowest
class were so entirely in the power of their
masters, as to be subject to personal and do-
mestick slavery, the most rigorous form of that
wretched state. In other provinces, particularly
in Bohemia and Lusatia, the peasants were
bound to remain on the lands to which they
belonged, and making part of the estate, were
transferred like any other property from one
hand to another. Even in Suabia, and the
countries on the banks of the Rhine, where their
condition was most tolerable, the peasants not
only paid the full rent of their farms to the
landlord; but if they chose either to change the
place of their abode, or to follow a new pro-
fession, they were obliged to purchase this pri-
vilege at a certain price. Besides this, all grants
of lands to peasants expired at their death,
without descending to their posterity. Upon
that event, the landlord had a right to the best
of their cattle, as well as of their furniture;
and their heirs, in order to obtain a renewal of
the grant, were obliged to pay large sums by
way of fine. These exactions, though grievous,
were born with patience, because they were cus-
tomary and ancient: But when the progress of
elegance and luxury, as well as the changes in-

introduced into the art of war, came to increase the expence of government, and made it necessary for Princes to levy occasional or stated taxes on their subjects, such impositions being new, appeared intolerable; and in Germany, these duties being laid chiefly upon beer, wine, and other necessaries of life, affected the common people in the most sensible manner. The addition of such a load to their former burdens, drove them to despair. It was to the valour inspired by resentment against impositions of this kind, that the Swiss owed the acquisition of their liberty in the fourteenth century. The same cause had excited the peasants in several other provinces of Germany to rebel against their superiors towards the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries; and though these insurrections were not attended with like success, they could not, however, be quelled without much difficulty and bloodshed³⁷.

BOOK IV.
1526.

By these checks, the spirit of the peasants was overawed rather than subdued; and their grievances multiplying continually, they ran to arms, this year, with the most frantick rage. Their first appearance was near Ulm in Suabia. The peasants in the adjacent country flocked to their standard with the ardour and impatience

Their insurrection in Suabia.

³⁷ Seckend. lib. ii. p. 2. 6.

BOOK IV. 1526. natural to men, who having groaned long under oppression, beheld at last some prospect of deliverance; and the contagion spreading from province to province, reached almost every part of Germany. Wherever they came, they plundered the monasteries; wasted the lands of their superiors; razed their castles, and massacred without mercy all persons of noble birth who were so unhappy as to fall into their hands³⁸. Having intimidated their oppressors, as they imagined, by the violence of these proceedings, they began to consider what would be the most proper and effectual method of securing themselves for the future from their tyrannical exactions. With this view, they drew up and published a memorial, containing all their demands, and declared, that while arms were in their hands, they would either persuade or oblige the nobles to give them full satisfaction with regard to these. The chief articles were, that they might have liberty to chuse their own pastors; that they might be freed from the payment of all tythes except those of corn; that they might no longer be considered as the slaves or bondmen of their superiors; that the liberty of hunting and fishing might be common; that the great forests might not be regarded as pri-

³⁸ Petr. Crinitus de Bello Rusticano, ap. Freher. Script. Rer. Germ. Argent. 1717. vol. iii. p. 243.

vate property, but be open for the use of all; that they might be delivered from the unusual burden of taxes under which they laboured; that the administration of justice might be rendered less rigorous and more impartial; that the encroachments of the nobles upon meadows and commons might be restrained ³⁹.

BOOK IV.

1526.

MANY of these demands were extremely reasonable; and being urged by such formidable numbers, might have met with some redress. But those vast unwieldy bodies, assembled in different places, had neither union, nor conduct, nor vigour. Being led by persons of the lowest rank, without skill in war, or knowledge of what was necessary for accomplishing their designs; all their exploits were distinguished only by a brutal and unmeaning fury. To oppose this, the princes and nobles of Suabia and the Lower Rhine raised their vassals, and attacking some of the mutineers with open force, and others by surprize, cut to pieces or dispersed all who infested those provinces; so that the peasants, after ruining the open country, and losing upwards of twenty thousand of their associates in the field, were obliged to return to their habitations with less hope than ever of relief from their grievances ⁴⁰.

³⁹ Sleid. Hist. p. 90. ⁴⁰ Seckend. lib. ii. p. 10. Petr. Gnodalius de Rusticanorum Tumultu in Germania, ap. Scard. Script. vol. ii. p. 131, &c.

BOOK IV.

1526.

Their in-
surrections
in Thuringia.

THESE commotions happened at first in provinces of Germany where Luther's opinions had made little progress; and being excited wholly by political causes, had no connection with the disputed points in religion. But the frenzy reaching at last those countries in which the Reformation was established, derived new strength from circumstances peculiar to them, and rose to a still greater pitch of extravagance. The Reformation, wherever it was received, increased that bold and innovating spirit to which it owed its birth. Men who had the courage to overturn a system supported by every thing which can command respect or reverence, were not to be overawed by any authority, how great or venerable soever. After having been accustomed to consider themselves as judges of the most important doctrines in religion, to examine these freely, and to reject, without scruple, what appeared to them erroneous, it was natural for them to turn the same daring and inquisitive eye towards government, and to think of rectifying whatever disorders or imperfections were discovered there. As religious abuses had been reformed in several places without the permission of the magistrate, it was an easy transition to attempt the redress of political grievances in the same manner.

No sooner, then, did the spirit of revolt break out in Thuringia, a province subject to the Elector of Saxony, the inhabitants of which were mostly converts to Lutheranism, than it assumed a new and more dangerous form. Thomas Muncer, one of Luther's disciples, having established himself in that country, had acquired a wonderful ascendant over the minds of the people. He propagated among them the wildest and most enthusiastick notions, but such as tended manifestly to inspire them with boldness, and lead them to sedition. Luther, he told them, had done more hurt than service to religion. He had, indeed, rescued the church from the yoke of Popery, but his doctrines encouraged, and his life set an example of the utmost licentiousness of manners. In order to avoid vice, says he, men must practise perpetual mortification. They must put on a grave countenance, speak little, wear a plain garb, and be serious in their whole deportment. Such as prepare their hearts in this manner, may expect that the Supreme Being will direct all their steps, and by some visible sign discover his will to them; if that illumination be at any time withheld, we may expostulate with the Almighty, who deals with us so harshly, and remind him of his promises. This expostulation and anger will be highly acceptable to God, and will at last prevail

BOOK IV.

1526.

More formidable.

Their fanatical spirits.

BOOK IV. on him to guide us with the same unerring hand
 1526. which conducted the patriarchs of old. Let us
 beware, however, of offending him by our
 arrogance; but as all men are equal in his eye,
 let them return to that condition of equality in
 which he formed them, and having all things in
 common, let them live together like brethren,
 without any marks of subordination or pre-
 eminence ⁴¹.

EXTRAVAGANT as these tenets were, they
 flattered so many passions in the human heart,
 as to make a deep impression. To aim at no-
 thing more than abridging the power of the
 nobility, was now considered as a trifling and
 partial reformation, not worth the contending
 for; it was proposed to level every distinction
 among mankind, and by abolishing property, to
 reduce them to their natural state of equality,
 in which all should receive their subsistence from
 one common stock. Muncer assured them, that
 the design was approved of by heaven, and that
 the Almighty had in a dream ascertained him
 of its success. The peasants set about the exe-
 cution of it, not only with the rage which ani-
 mated those of their order in other parts of Ger-
 many, but with the ardour which enthusiasm
 inspires. They deposed the magistrates in all the

⁴¹ Seckend. lib. ii. p. 13. Sleid. Hist. p. 83.

cities of which they were masters; seized the lands of the nobles, and obliged such of them as they got into their hands, to put on the dress commonly worn by peasants, and instead of their former titles, to be satisfied with the appellation given to people in the lowest class of life. Vast numbers engaged in this wild undertaking; but Muncer, their leader and their prophet, was destitute of the abilities necessary for conducting it. He had all the extravagance, but not the courage, which enthusiasts usually possess. It was with difficulty he could be persuaded to take the field; and though he soon drew together eight thousand men, he suffered himself to be surrounded by a body of cavalry under the command of the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and Duke of Brunswick. These Princes, unwilling to shed the blood of their deluded subjects, sent a young nobleman to their camp, with the offer of a general pardon, if they would immediately lay down their arms, and deliver up the authors of the sedition. Muncer, alarmed at this, began to harangue his followers with his usual vehemence, exhorting them not to trust these deceitful promises of their oppressors, nor to desert the cause of God, and of Christian liberty.

BUT the sense of present danger making a deeper impression on the peasants than his elo-
Peasants defeated.

BOOK IV. quence, confusion and terror were visible in
1526. every face, when a rainbow, which was the emblem that the mutineers had painted on their colours, happening to appear in the clouds, Muncer, with admirable presence of mind, laid hold of that incident, and suddenly raising his eyes and hands towards heaven, "Behold," cries he, with an elevated voice, "the sign," which God has given. There is the pledge of your safety, and a token that the wicked shall be destroyed." The fanatical multitude set up instantly a great shout, as if victory had been certain; and passing in a moment from one extreme to another, massacred the unfortunate nobleman who had come with the offer of pardon, and demanded to be led towards the enemy. The Princes enraged at this shocking violation of the laws of war, advanced with no less impetuosity, and began the attack; but the behaviour of the peasants in the combat was not such as might have been expected either from their ferocity or confidence of success; an undisciplined rabble was no equal match for well-trained troops; above five thousand were slain in the field, almost without making resistance; the rest fled, and among the foremost Muncer their general. He was taken next day, and being condemned to such punishments as his crimes had deserved, he suffered them with a poor and

May 15.

daftardly fpirit. His death put an end to the Book IV.
infurrections of the peafants which had filled Ger- 1526.
many with fuch terror ⁴²; but the enthuftick
notions which he had fcattered were not extir-
pated, and produced, not long after, effects more
memorable, as well as more extravagant.

DURING thefe commotions, Luther acted with Luther's
exemplary prudence and moderation; like a com- moderate
mon parent, folicitous about the welfare of both and prudent
parties, without fparing the faults or errors of conduct.
either. On the one hand, he addreffed a monitory
difcourfe to the nobles, exhorting them to treat
their dependents with greater humanity and in-
dulgence. On the other, he feverely cenfured
the feditious fpirit of the peafants, advifing them
not to murmur at hardships infeparable from their
condition, nor to feek for redrefs by any but
legal means ⁴³.

LUTHER'S famous marriage with Catharine His mar-
a Boria, a nun of a noble family, who, having riage.
thrown off the veil, had fled from the cloifter,
happened this year, and was far from meeting
with the fame approbation. Even his moft de-
voted followers thought this ftep indecent, at a
time when his country* was involved in fo many

⁴² Sleid. Hift. p. 84. Seckend. lib. ii. p. 12. Gnodalius
Tumult. Ruffican. 155. ⁴³ Sleid. Hift. p. 87.

BOOK IV. calamities; while his enemies never mentioned
 1526. it with any softer appellation than that of incestuous or profane. Luther himself was sensible of the impression which it had made to his disadvantage; but being satisfied with his own conduct, he bore the censure of his friends, and the reproaches of his adversaries, with his usual fortitude **.

THIS year the Reformation lost its first protector, Frederick, Elector of Saxony; but the blow was the less sensibly felt, as he was succeeded by his brother John, a more avowed and zealous, though less able patron of Luther and his doctrines.

Prussia, wrested from the Teutonic order, ANOTHER event happened about the same time, which, as it occasioned a considerable change in the state of Germany, must be traced back to its source. While the frenzy of the Crusades possessed all Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, several orders of religious knighthood were founded in defence of the Christian faith against Heathens and Infidels. Among these the Teutonic order in Germany was one of the most illustrious, the knights of which distinguished themselves greatly in all the wild enterprizes carried on in the Holy

** Seckend. lib. ii. p. 15.

Land. Being driven at last from their settlements in the east, they were obliged to return to their native country. Their zeal and valour were too impetuous to remain long inactive. They invaded, on very slight pretences, the province of Prussia, the inhabitants of which were still idolaters; and having completed the conquest of it about the middle of the thirteenth century, held it many years as a fief depending on the crown of Poland. Fierce contests arose during this period; between the grand masters of the order, and the Kings of Poland; the former struggling for independence, while the latter asserted their right of sovereignty with great firmness. Albert, a Prince of the house of Brandenburg, who was elected grand master in the year one thousand five hundred and eleven, engaging keenly in this quarrel, maintained a long war with Sigismund, King of Poland; but having become an early convert to Luther's doctrines, this gradually lessened his zeal for the interests of his fraternity, so that he took the opportunity of the confusions in the Empire, and the absence of the Emperor, to conclude a treaty with Sigismund, greatly to his private emolument. By it, that part of Prussia which belonged to the Teutonic order, was erected into a secular and hereditary duchy, and the investiture of it granted to Albert, who, in

BOOK IV.

1526.

BOOK IV. return, bound himself to do homage for it to
 1526. the Kings of Poland as their vassal. Immediately
 after this, he made publick profession of the
 reformed religion, and married a Princess of
 Denmark. The Teutonick knights exclaimed
 so loudly against the treachery of their grand
 master, that he was put under the ban of the
 Empire; but he still kept possession of the
 province which he had usurped, and transmit-
 ted it to his posterity. In process of time this
 rich inheritance fell to the electoral branch of
 the family, all dependence on the crown of
 Poland was shaken off, and the Margraves of
 Brandenburg, having assumed the title of Kings
 of Prussia, have not only risen to an equa-
 lity with the first Princes in Germany, but
 take their rank among the great Monarchs of
 Europe *.

First mea-
 sures of the
 French
 King upon
 his return
 to France.

UPON the return of the French King to his
 dominions, the eyes of all the powers in Europe
 were fixed upon him, that, by observing his first
 motions, they might form a judgment concern-
 ing his subsequent conduct. They were not
 held long in suspense. Francis, as soon as he
 arrived at Bayonne, wrote to the King of Eng-
 land, thanking him for his zealous and affec-

* Sleid. Hist. p. 98. Pfeffel Abrégé de l'hist. du Droit
 Publ. p. 605, &c.

tionate interposition in his favour, to which he Book IV.
 acknowledged that he owed the recovery of his 1526.
 liberty. Next day the Emperor's ambassadors
 demanded audience, and, in their master's name
 required him to issue such orders as were neces-
 sary for carrying the treaty of Madrid into
 immediate and full execution; he coldly an-
 swered, that though for his own part he deter-
 mined religiously to perform all that he had
 promised, the treaty contained so many articles
 relative not to himself alone, but affecting the
 interests of the French monarchy, that he could
 not take any farther step without consulting the
 States of his kingdom, and that some time
 would be necessary in order to reconcile their
 minds to the hard conditions which he had
 consented to ratify⁴⁶. This reply was considered
 as no obscure discovery of his being resolved
 to elude the treaty; and the compliment paid
 to Henry, appeared a very proper step towards
 securing the assistance of that Monarch in the
 war with the Emperor, to which such a reso-
 lution would certainly give rise. These circum-
 stances, added to the explicit declarations which
 Francis made in secret to the ambassadors from
 several of the Italian powers, fully satisfied
 them that their conjectures with regard to his
 conduct had been just, and that instead of in-

⁴⁶ Mém. de Bellay, p. 97.

BOOK IV. tending to execute an unreasonable treaty, he
1526. was eager to seize the first opportunity of revenging those injuries which had compelled him to feign an approbation of it. Even the doubts, and fears, and scruples which used, on other occasions, to hold Clement in a state of uncertainty, were dissipated by Francis's seeming impatience to break through all his engagements with the Emperor. The situation, indeed, of affairs in Italy at that time, did not allow the Pope to hesitate long. Sforza was still besieged by the Imperialists in the castle of Milan. That feeble Prince, deprived now of Morone's advice, and unprovided with every thing necessary for defence, found means to inform Clement and the Venetians that he must soon surrender, if they did not come to his relief. The Imperial troops, as they had received no pay since the battle of Pavia, lived at discretion in the Milanese, levying such exorbitant contributions in that dutchy, as amounted, if we may rely on Guicciardini's calculation, to no less a sum than five thousand ducats a day⁴⁷; nor was it to be doubted, but that the soldiers, as soon as the castle should submit, would chuse to leave a ruined country which hardly afforded them subsistence, that they might take possession of more comfortable quarters in the fertile and un-

⁴⁷ Guic. l. xvii. 360.

touched territories of the Pope and Venetians, BOOK IV.
The assistance of the French King was the only 1526.
thing which could either save Sforza, or enable
them to protect their own dominions from the
insults of the Imperial troops.

FOR these reasons, the Pope, the Venetians, A league
and Duke of Milan, were equally impatient to formed
come to an agreement with Francis, who, on against the
his part, was no less desirous of acquiring such Emperor.
a considerable accession both of strength and
reputation as such a confederacy would bring
along with it. The chief objects of this alli-
ance, which was concluded at Cognac on the
twenty-second of May, though kept secret for
some time, were to oblige the Emperor to set
at liberty the French King's sons, upon pay-
ment of a reasonable ransom; and to re-establish
Sforza in the quiet possession of the Milanese.
If Charles should refuse either of these, the
contracting parties bound themselves to bring
into the field an army of thirty-five thousand
men, with which, after driving the Spaniards
out of the Milanese, they would attack the
kingdom of Naples. The King of England
was declared Protector of this league, which
they dignified with the name of *Holy*, because
the Pope was at the head of it; and in order
to allure Henry more effectually, a principality
in the kingdom of Naples, of thirty thousand

BOOK IV. ducats yearly revenue, was to be settled on
 1526. him; and lands to the value of ten thousand
 ducats on Wolsey his favourite⁴⁸.

The Pope
 absolves
 Francis
 from his
 oath to ob-
 serve the
 treaty of
 Madrid.

No sooner was this league concluded, than Clement, by the plenitude of his papal power, absolved Francis from the oath which he had taken to observe the treaty of Madrid⁴⁹. This right, how pernicious soever in its effects, and destructive of that integrity which is the basis of all transactions among men, was the natural consequence of the powers which the Popes arrogated as the infallible viceregents of Christ upon earth. But as, in virtue of this pretended prerogative, they had often dispensed with obligations which were held sacred, the interest of some men, and the credulity of others led them to imagine that the decisions of a sovereign pontiff authorized or justified actions which would, otherwise, have been criminal and impious.

The Empe-
 ror alarmed.

MEANWHILE the discovery of Francis's intention to elude the treaty of Madrid, filled the Emperor with a variety of disquieting thoughts. He had treated an unfortunate prince with the most ungenerous rigour; he had displayed an

⁴⁸ P. Heuter. Rer. Austr. lib. ix. c. 3. p. 217. Recueil des Trait. ii. 124. ⁴⁹ Goldast. Polit. Imperial. p. 1002. Pallav. Hist. p. 70.

insatiable ambition in all his negociations with his prisoner : He knew what censures the former had drawn upon him , and what apprehensions the latter had excited in every court of Europe ; nor had he reaped from the measures which he pursued , any of those advantages which politicians are apt to consider as an excuse for the most criminal conduct , and a compensation for the severest reproaches. Francis was now out of his hands , and not one of all the mighty consequences which he had expected from the treaty that set him at liberty , was likely to take place. His rashness in relying so far on his own judgment as to trust to the sincerity of the French King , in opposition to the sentiments of his wisest ministers , was now apparent ; and he easily conjectured , that the same confederacy , the dread of which had induced him to set Francis at liberty , would now be formed against him with that gallant and incensed Monarch at its head. Self-condemnation and shame , on account of what was past , with anxious apprehensions concerning what might happen , were the necessary result of these reflections on his own conduct and situation. Charles , however , was naturally firm and inflexible in all his measures. To have receded suddenly from any article in the treaty of Madrid , would have been a plain confession of imprudence , and a palpable

BOOK IV. symptom of fear ; he determined therefore ,
 1526. that it was most suitable to his dignity , to insist ,
 whatever might be the consequences , on the
 strict execution of the treaty , and particularly
 not to accept of any thing which might be
 offered as an equivalent for the restitution of
 Burgundy '.

Requires
 Francis to
 perform
 what he had
 stipulated.

IN consequence of this resolution , he ap-
 pointed Lannoy and Alarcon to repair , as his
 ambassadors , to the court of France , and for-
 mally to summon the King either to execute the
 treaty with the sincerity that became him , or to
 return , according to his oath , a prisoner to
 Madrid. Instead of giving them an immediate
 answer , Francis admitted the deputies of the
 states of Burgundy to an audience in their pre-
 sence. They humbly represented to him , that
 he had exceeded the powers vested in a King of
 France when he consented to alienate their
 country from the crown , the domains of which
 he was bound by his coronation oath to preserve
 entire and unimpaired. Francis , in return ,
 thanked them for their attachment to his crown ,
 and intreated them , though very faintly , to
 remember the obligations which he lay under
 to fulfil his engagements with the Emperor.
 The deputies assuming an higher tone , declared

that they would not obey commands which they considered as illegal ; and if he should abandon them to the enemies of France, they had resolved to defend themselves to the best of their power, with a firm purpose rather to perish than submit to a foreign dominion. Upon which Francis turning towards the Imperial ambassadors represented to them the impossibility of performing what he had undertaken, and offered, in lieu of Burgundy, to pay the Emperor two millions of crowns. The Viceroy and Alarcon, who easily perceived that the scene to which they had been witnesses, was concerted between the King and his subjects in order to impose upon them, signified to him their master's fixed resolution not to depart in the smallest point from the terms of the treaty, and withdrew⁵¹. Before they left the kingdom, they had the mortification to hear the holy league against the Emperor published with great solemnity.

Book IV.
1526.

His answer.

June 11.

CHARLES no sooner received an account of this confederacy than he exclaimed in the most publick manner, and in the harshest terms, against Francis, as a Prince void of faith, and of honour. He complained no less of Clement, whom he solicited in vain to abandon his new

The Emperor's preparations for war.

⁵¹ Belcar. Comment. de Reb. Gal. 573. Mém. de Bellay, 97.

BOOK IV. allies ; he accused him of ingratitude ; he taxed
 1526. him with an ambition unbecoming his character ; he threatened him not only with all the vengeance which the power of an Emperor can inflict, but by appealing to a general council, called up before him all the terrors arising from the authority of those assemblies so formidable to the papal see. It was necessary, however, to oppose something else than reproaches and threats to the powerful combination formed against him ; and the Emperor, prompted by so many passions, did not fail to exert himself with unusual vigour, in order to send supplies not only of men, but of money, which was still more needed, into Italy.

Feeble operations of the confederates.

ON the other hand, the efforts of the confederates bore no proportion to that animosity against the Emperor with which they seemed to enter into the holy league. Francis, it was thought, would have infused spirit and vigour into the whole body. He had his lost honour to repair, many injuries to revenge, and the station among the Princes of Europe from which he had fallen to recover. From all these powerful incitements, added to the natural impetuosity of his temper, a war more fierce and bloody than any that he had hitherto made upon his rival, was expected. But Francis had gone through such a scene of distress,

distress, and the impression it had made was Book IV:
 still so fresh in his memory, that he was become 1526:
 diffident of himself, distrustful of fortune, and
 desirous of tranquillity. To procure the release
 of his sons, and to avoid the restitution of Bur-
 gundy by paying some reasonable equivalent,
 were his chief objects; and for the sake of these,
 he would willingly have sacrificed Sforza and
 the liberties of Italy to the Emperor. He flatter-
 ed himself that the dread of the confederacy which
 he had formed would of itself induce Charles
 to listen to what was equitable; and was afraid
 of employing any considerable force for the re-
 lief of the Milanese, lest his allies, whom he
 had often found to be more attentive to their
 own interest, than punctual in fulfilling their
 engagements, should abandon him as soon as the
 Imperialists were driven out of that country, and
 deprive his negotiations with the Emperor of
 that weight which they derived from his being
 at the head of a powerful league. In the mean
 time the castle of Milan was pressed more closely
 than ever, and Sforza was now reduced to the
 last extremity. The Pope and Venetians, trust-
 ing to Francis's concurrence, commanded their
 troops to take the field, in order to relieve him;
 and an army more than sufficient for that
 service was soon formed. The Milanese, pas-
 sionately attached to their unfortunate Duke,

BOOK IV. and no less exasperated against the Imperialists,
 1526. who had oppressed them so cruelly, were ready to aid the confederates in all their enterprizes. But the Duke d'Urbino, their general, naturally slow and indecisive, and restrained, besides, by his ancient enmity to the family of Medici, from taking any step that might aggrandize or add reputation to the Pope⁵², lost some opportunities, and refused to improve others, of attacking the Imperialists, and raising the siege. These delays gave Bourbon time to bring up a reinforcement of fresh troops, and a supply of money. He immediately took the command of the army, and pushed on the siege with such vigour, as quickly obliged Sforza to surrender, who retiring to Lodi, which the confederates had surprized, left Bourbon in full possession of the rest of the duchy, the investiture of which the Emperor had promised to grant him⁵³.

July 24.

Disquietude
 of the Ita-
 lian powers.

THE Italians began now to perceive the game which Francis had played, and to be sensible that, notwithstanding all their address, and refinements in negociation, which they boasted of as talents peculiarly their own, they had for once been over-reached in those very arts by a *tramontane* Prince. He had hitherto thrown almost the whole burden of the war upon them,

⁵² Guic. l. xvii. 382. ⁵³ Guic. l. xvii. 376, &c.

taking advantage of their efforts, in order to enforce the proposals which he often renewed at the court of Madrid for obtaining the liberty of his sons. The Pope and Venetians expostulated and complained⁵⁴; but as they were not able to rouse Francis from his inactivity, their own zeal and vigour gradually abated, and Clement, having already gone farther than his timidity usually permitted him, began to accuse himself of rashness, and to relapse into his natural state of doubt and uncertainty.

ALL the Emperor's motions depending on himself alone, were more brisk and better concerted. The narrowness of his revenues, indeed, did not allow him to make any sudden or great effort in the field, but he abundantly supplied that defect by his intrigues and negotiations. The family of Colonna, the most powerful of all the Roman barons, had adhered uniformly to the Ghibeline or Imperial faction, during those fierce contentions between the Popes and Emperors, which, for several ages, filled Italy and Germany with discord and bloodshed. Though the causes which at first gave birth to these destructive factions existed no longer, and the rage with which they had been animated

Measures of
the Impe-
rialists.

⁵⁴ Ruscelli Lettere de' Principi, ii. 157, &c. 159, 160—166.

BOOK IV. 1526. was in a great measure spent, the Colonnas still retained their attachment to the Imperial interest, and by placing themselves under the protection of the Emperors, secured the quiet possession of their own territories and privileges. The Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, a man of a turbulent and ambitious temper, at that time the head of the family, had long been Clement's rival, to whose influence in the last conclave he imputed the disappointment of all his schemes for attaining the papal dignity, of which, from his known connection with the Emperor, he thought himself secure. This was too great an injury to an aspiring mind ever to be forgiven; and though he had dissembled his resentment so far as to vote for Clement at his election, and to accept of great offices in his court, he waited with the utmost impatience for an opportunity of being revenged. Don Hugo di Moncada, the Imperial ambassador at Rome, who was no stranger to these sentiments, easily persuaded him, that now was the time, while all the papal troops were employed in Lombardy, to attempt something which would at once avenge his own wrongs, and be of essential service to the Emperor his patron. The Pope, however, whose timidity rendered him quick-sighted, was so attentive to their operations, and began to be alarmed so early, that he might have drawn to

gether troops sufficient to have disconcerted all Colonna's measures. But Moncada amused him so artfully with negotiations, promises, and false intelligence, that he lulled asleep all his suspicions, and prevented his taking any of the precautions necessary for his safety; and to the eternal disgrace of a Prince possessed of great power, as well as renowned for political wisdom, Colonna, at the head of three thousand men, seized one of the gates of his capital, while he, imagining himself to be in perfect security, was altogether unprepared for resisting such a feeble enemy. The inhabitants of Rome permitted Colonna's troops, from whom they apprehended no injury, to advance without opposition; the Pope's guards were dispersed in a moment; and Clement himself, terrified at the danger, ashamed of his own credulity, and deserted by almost every person, fled with precipitation into the castle of St. Angelo, which was immediately invested. The palace of the Vatican, the church of St. Peter, and the houses of the Pope's ministers and servants, were plundered in the most licentious manner; the rest of the city was left unmolested. Clement, destitute of every thing necessary either for subsistence or defence, was soon obliged to demand a capitulation; and Moncada, being admitted into the castle, prescribed to him, with all the haughtiness of a

Book IV.

1526.

Sept. 29.

The Colonnas become masters of Rome.

Accommodation between the

BOOK IV. conqueror, conditions which it was not in his
 1526. power to reject. The chief of these was, That
 Pope and Emperor. Clement should not only grant a full pardon to
 the Colonnas, but receive them into favour, and
 immediately withdraw all the troops in his pay
 from the army of the confederates in Lom-
 bardy⁵⁵.

THE Colonnas, who talked of nothing less
 than of deposing Clement, and of placing Pom-
 peo, their kinsman, in the vacant chair of St.
 Peter, exclaimed loudly against a treaty which
 left them at the mercy of a Pontiff justly incensed
 against them. But Moncada, attentive only to
 his master's interest, paid little regard to their
 complaints, and by this fortunate measure, broke
 entirely the power of the confederates.

The Impe-
 rial army
 reinforced.

WHILE the army of the confederates suffered
 such a considerable diminution, the Imperialists
 received two great reinforcements; one from
 Spain, under the command of Lannoy and Alar-
 con, which amounted to six thousand men; the
 other was raised in the Empire by George
 Frondsperg, a German nobleman, who having
 served in Italy with great reputation, had ac-
 quired such influence and popularity, that mul-

⁵⁵ Jovii Vita Pomp. Colon. Guic. l. xvii. 407.
 Ruscelli Lettere de' Principi, i. p. 104.

titudes of his countrymen, fond on every occa- BOOK IV.
 sion of engaging in military enterprizes, and im- 1526.
 patient at that juncture to escape from the op-
 pression of their superiors in religious as well as
 civil matters, crowded to his standard; so that
 without any other gratuity than the payment
 of a crown to each man, fourteen thousand
 enlisted in his service. To these the Archduke
 Ferdinand added two thousand horse, levied in
 the Austrian dominions. But although the
 Emperor had raised troops, he could not remit
 the sums necessary for their support. His or-
 dinary revenues were exhausted; the credit of
 princes, during the infancy of commerce, was
 not extensive; and the Cortes of Castile, though
 every art had been tried to gain them, and some
 innovations had been made in the constitution,
 in order to secure their concurrence, peremp-
 torily refused to grant Charles any extraordi-
 nary supply⁵⁶; so that the more his army in-
 creased in number, the more were his generals
 embarrassed and distressed. Bourbon, in par-
 ticular, was involved in such difficulties, that
 he stood in need of all his address and courage
 in order to extricate himself. Vast sums were
 due to the Spanish troops already in the Mila-
 nese, when Frondsperg arrived with sixteen thou-
 sand hungry Germans, destitute of every thing

⁵⁶ Sandov. i. 814.

BOOK IV. Both made their demands with equal fierceness ;
 1526. the former claiming their arrears, and the latter, the pay which had been promised them on their entering Lombardy. Bourbon was altogether incapable of giving satisfaction to either. In this situation, he was constrained to commit acts of violence extremely shocking to his own nature, which was generous and humane. He seized the principal citizens of Milan, and by threats, and even by torture, forced from them a considerable sum ; he rifled the churches of all their plate and ornaments ; the inadequate supply which these afforded, he distributed among the soldiers, with so many soothing expressions of his sympathy and affection, that, though it fell far short of the sums due to them, it appeased their present murmurs ⁵⁷.

Bourbon
 sets Morone
 at liberty.

AMONG other expedients for raising money, Bourbon granted his life and liberty to Morone, who having been kept in prison since his intrigue with Pescara, had been condemned to die by the Spanish judges empowered to try him. For this remission he paid twenty thousand ducats ; and such were his singular talents, and the wonderful ascendant which he always acquired over the minds of those to whom he had access, that in a few days, from being Bourbon's prisoner, he became his prime confident, with whom

⁵⁷ Ripamond. Hist. Mediol. lib. ix. p. 717.

he consulted in all affairs of importance. To his insinuations must be imputed the suspicions which Bourbon began to entertain, that the Emperor had never intended to grant him the investiture of Milan, but had appointed Leyva, and the other Spanish generals, rather to be spies on his conduct, than to co-operate heartily towards the execution of his schemes. To him likewise, as he still retained at the age of fourscore all the enterprizing spirit of youth, may be attributed the bold and unexpected measure on which Bourbon soon after ventured ⁵⁸.

Book IV.

1526.

SUCH, indeed, were the exigences of the Imperial troops in the Milanese, that it became indispensably necessary to take some immediate step for their relief. The arrears of the soldiers increased daily; the Emperor made no remittances to his generals; and the utmost rigour of military extortion could draw nothing more from a country entirely drained and ruined. In this situation there was no choice left, but either to disband the army, or to march for subsistence into the enemy's country. The territories of the Venetians lay nearest at hand; but they, with their usual foresight and prudence, had taken such precautions as secured them from any insult. Nothing, therefore, remained but to invade the dominions of the church, or of the

His deliberations with respect to his motions.

⁵⁸ Guic. l. xvii. 419.

BOOK IV. Florentines; and Clement had of late acted such
 1526. a part, as merited the severest vengeance from the Emperor. No sooner did his troops return to Rome after the insurrection of the Colonnas, than, without paying any regard to the treaty with Moncada, he degraded the Cardinal Colonna, excommunicated the rest of the family, seized their places of strength, and wasted their lands with all the cruelty which the smart of a recent injury naturally excites. After this, he turned his arms against Naples, and as his operations were seconded by the French fleet, he made some progress towards the conquest of that kingdom; the Viceroy being no less destitute than the other Imperial generals of the money requisite for a vigorous defence⁵⁹.

1527. THESE proceedings of the Pope justified, in
 Marches to appearance, the measures which Bourbon's situa-
 invade the tion rendered necessary; and he set about execut-
 Pope's ter- ing them under such disadvantages, as furnish the
 ritories. strongest proof both of the despair to which he
 was reduced, and of the greatness of his abilities
 which were able to surmount so many obstacles.
 Having committed the government of Milan to
 Leyva, whom he was not unwilling to leave
 January 30 behind, he began his march in the depth of
 winter, at the head of twenty-five thousand men,

⁵⁹ Jovii. Vita Pomp. Colon. Guic. l. xviii. 424.

composed of nations differing from each other Book IV.
in language and manners ; without money, 1527.
without magazines, without artillery, without
carriages; in short, without any of those things
which are necessary to the smallest party, and
which seem essential to the existence and mo-
tions of a great army. His route lay through
a country cut by rivers and mountains, in which
the roads were almost impracticable; as an addi-
tion to his difficulties, the enemy's army, superior
to his own in number, was at hand to watch
all his motions, and to improve every advantage.
But his troops, impatient of their present hard-
ships, and allured by the hopes of immense
booty, without considering how ill-provided
they were for a march, followed him with
great cheerfulness. His first scheme was to have
made himself master of Placentia, and to have
gratified his soldiers with the plunder of that
city; but the vigilance of the confederate gener-
als rendered the design abortive; nor had he
better success in his project for the reduction of
Bologna, which was seasonably supplied with
as many troops as secured it from the insults
of an army which had neither artillery nor
ammunition. Having failed in both these at-
tempts to become master of some great city,
he was under a necessity of advancing. But
he had now been two months in the field; his

BOOK IV. troops had suffered every calamity that a long
 1527. march, together with the uncommon rigour of
 the season, could bring upon men destitute
 of all necessary accommodations in an enemy's
 country; the magnificent promises to which
 they trusted, had proved altogether vain; they
 saw no prospect of relief; their patience, tried
 to the utmost, failed at last, and they broke
 out into open mutiny. Some officers, who rashly
 attempted to restrain them, fell victims to their
 fury; Bourbon himself, not daring to appear
 during the first transports of their rage, was
 obliged to fly secretly from his quarters⁶⁰.
 But this sudden ebullition of wrath began at
 last to subside; when Bourbon, who possessed
 in a wonderful degree the art of governing
 the minds of soldiers, renewed his promises
 with more confidence than formerly, and assured
 them that they would be soon accomplished.
 He endeavoured to render their hardship more
 tolerable, by partaking of them himself; he
 fared no better than the meanest sentinel; he
 marched along with them on foot; he joined
 them in singing their camp-ballads, in which,
 with high praises of his valour, they mingled
 many strokes of military raillery on his poverty;
 and wherever they came, he allowed them, as a
 foretaste of what he had promised, to plunder

⁶⁰ Guic. l. xviii. 434. Joyii Vit. Colon. 163.

the adjacent villages at discretion. Encouraged by all these soothing arts, they entirely forgot their sufferings and complaints, and followed him with the same implicit confidence as formerly⁶¹. Book IV.
1527.

BOURBON, meanwhile, carefully concealed his intentions. Rome and Florence, not knowing on which the blow would fall, were held in the most disquieting state of suspense. Clement, equally solicitous for the safety of both, fluctuated in more than his usual uncertainty; and while the rapid approach of danger called for prompt and decisive measures, he spent the time in deliberations which came to no issue, or in taking resolutions, which, next day, his restless mind, more sagacious in discerning than in obviating difficulties, overturned, without being able to fix on what should be substituted in their place. At one time he determined to unite himself more closely than ever with his allies, and to push on the war with vigour; at another, he inclined to bring all differences to a final accommodation by a treaty with Lannoy, who knowing his passion for negotiation, solicited him incessantly with proposals for that purpose. His timidity at length prevailed, and

The Pope's
irresolution
and impru-
dence.

⁶¹ Oeuvres de Brant. vol. iv. p. 246, &c.

BOOK IV. led him to conclude an agreement with Lannoy,
 1527. of which the following were the chief articles:
 March 15, That a suspension of arms should take place
 Concludes a treaty with between the Pontifical and Imperial troops
 the Viceroy for eight months; That Clement should advance
 of Naples, sixty thousand crowns towards satisfying the
 demands of the Imperial army; That the Colonnas should be absolved from censure, and their former dignities and possessions be restored to them; That the viceroy should come to Rome, and prevent Bourbon from approaching nearer to that city, or to Florence⁶². On this hasty treaty, which deprived him of all hopes of assistance from his allies, without affording him any solid foundation of security, Clement relied so firmly, that, like a man extricated at once out of all difficulties, he was at perfect ease, and in the fulness of his confidence disbanded all his troops, except as many as were sufficient to guard his own person. This amazing confidence of Clement's, who on every other occasion was fearful and suspicious to excess, appeared so unaccountable to Guicciardini, who being at that time the pontifical commissary-general and resident in the confederate army, had great opportunities as well as great abilities for observing how chimerical all his hopes were, that he imputes the Pope's conduct,

⁶² Guic. l. xviii. 436.

at this juncture, wholly to infatuation, which Book IV.
those who are doomed to ruin cannot avoid ⁶³. 1527.

LANNOY, it would seem, intended to have ^{which} executed the treaty with great sincerity; and ^{Bourbon} having detached Clement from the confederacy, ^{disregards.} wished to turn Bourbon's arms against the Venetians, who, of all the powers at war with the Emperor, had exerted the greatest vigour. With this view he dispatched a courier to Bourbon, informing him of the suspension of arms, which, in the name of their common master, he had concluded with the Pope. Bourbon had other schemes; and he had prosecuted them now too far to think of retreating. To have mentioned a retreat to his soldiers, would have been dangerous; his command was independent on Lannoy: he was fond of mortifying a man whom he had many reasons to hate: for these reasons, without paying the least regard to the message, he continued to ravage the ecclesiastical territories, and to advance towards Florence. Upon this, all Clement's terror and anxiety returning with new force, he had recourse to Lannoy, and intreated and conjured him to put a stop to Bourbon's progress. Lannoy accordingly set out for his camp, but durst not approach it; Bourbon's soldiers having got notice

⁶³ Guic. l. xviii. 446.

BOOK IV. of the truce, raged and threatened, demanding
 1527. the accomplishment of the promises to which they had trusted; their general himself could hardly restrain them; every person in Rome perceived that nothing remained but to prepare for resisting a storm which it was now impossible to dispel. Clement alone, relying on some ambiguous and deceitful professions which Bourbon made of his inclination towards peace, sunk back into his former security⁶⁴.

Advances
towards
Rome.

BOURBON, on his part, was far from being free from solicitude. All his attempts on any place of importance had hitherto miscarried; and Florence, towards which he had been approaching for some time, was, by the arrival of the Duke d'Urbino's army, put in a condition to set his power at defiance. As it now became necessary to change his route, and to take instantly some new resolution, he fixed without hesitation on one no less daring in itself, than it was impious, according to the opinion of that age. This was to assault and plunder Rome. Many reasons, however, prompted him to it. He was fond of thwarting Lannoy, who had undertaken for the safety of that city; he imagined that the Emperor would be highly pleased to see Clement, the chief author of the league

⁶⁴ Guic. l. xviii. 437, &c. Mém. de Bellay, p. 100.

against

against him, humbled; he flattered himself, that by gratifying the rapacity of his soldiers with such immense booty, he would attach them for ever to his interest; or (which is still more probable than any of these) he hoped that by means of the power and fame, which he would acquire from the conquest of the first city in Christendom, he might lay the foundation of an independent power; and that after shaking off all connection with the Emperor, he might take possession of Naples, or of some of the Italian states in his own name⁶⁵.

Book IV.
1527.

WHATEVER his motives were, he executed his resolution with a rapidity equal to the boldness with which he had formed it. His soldiers, now that they had their prey in full view, complained neither of fatigue, nor famine, nor want of pay. No sooner did they begin to move from Tuscany towards Rome, than the Pope, sensible at last how fallacious the hopes had been on which he reposed, started from his security. But no time now remained, even for a bold and decisive Pontiff, to have taken proper measures, or to have formed any effectual plan of defence. Under Clement's feeble conduct, all was consternation, disorder, and irresolution. He collected, however, such of his disbanded soldiers as still remained in the

The Pope's
preparations
for defence.

⁶⁵ Brant. iv. 271. vi. 189. Belcarii Comment. 594.

Book IV. city; he armed the artificers of Rome; and the
 1527. footmen and train-bearers of the Cardinals; he repaired the breaches in the walls; he began to erect new works; he excommunicated Bourbon and all his troops, branding the Germans with the name of Lutherans, and the Spaniards with that of Moors⁶⁶. Trusting to these ineffectual military preparations, or to his spiritual arms, which were still more despised by rapacious soldiers, he seems to have laid aside his natural timidity, and contrary to the advice of all his counsellors, determined to wait the approach of an enemy whom he might easily have avoided, by a timely retreat.

Affault of
 Rome.

BOURBON, who saw the necessity of dispatch, now that his intentions were known, advanced with such speed, that he gained several marches on the Duke d'Urbino's army, and encamped in the plains of Rome on the evening of the fifth of May. From thence he shewed his soldiers the palaces and churches of that city, into which, as the capital of the Christian commonwealth, the riches of all Europe had flowed during many centuries, without having been once violated by any hostile hand; and commanding them to refresh themselves that night, as a preparation for the assault next day, promised them, in reward of their toils and valour,

⁶⁶ Seckend. lib. ii. 68.

the possession of all the treasures accumulated there. Book IV.

1527.

EARLY in the morning, Bourbon, who had determined to distinguish that day either by his death or the success of his enterprize, appeared at the head of his troops, clad in complete armour, above which he wore a vest of white tissue, that he might be more conspicuous both to his friends and to his enemies; and as all depended on one bold impression, he led them instantly to scale the walls. Three distinct bodies, one of Germans, another of Spaniards, and the last of Italians, the three different nations of whom the army was composed, were appointed to this service; a separate attack was assigned to each; and the whole army advanced to support them as occasion should require. A thick mist concealed their approach until they reached almost the brink of the ditch which surrounded the suburbs: having planted their ladders in a moment, each brigade rushed on to the assault with an impetuosity heightened by national emulation. They were received at first with fortitude equal to their own; the Swiss in the Pope's guards, and the veteran soldiers who had been assembled, fought with a courage becoming men to whom the defence of the noblest city in the world was entrusted. Bourbon's troops, notwithstanding all their valour, gained no ground, and even began to

BOOK IV.

1527.

Bourbon
slain.

give way; when their leader, perceiving that on this critical moment the fate of the day depended, threw himself from his horse, pressed to the front, snatched a scaling ladder from a foldier, planted it against the wall, and began to mount it, encouraging his men with his voice and hand, to follow him. But at that very instant, a musket bullet from the ramparts pierced his groin with a wound, which he immediately felt to be mortal; but he retained so much presence of mind as to desire those who were near him to cover his body with a cloak, that his death might not dishearten his troops; and soon after he expired with a courage worthy of a better cause, and which would have entitled him to the highest praise, if he had thus fallen in defence of his country, not at the head of its enemies. ⁶⁷.

The city
taken.

THIS fatal event could not be concealed from the army; the foldiers soon missed their general, whom they were accustomed to see in every time of danger; but instead of being disheartened by their loss, it animated them with new valour; the name of Bourbon resounded along the line, accompanied with the cry of *blood* and *revenge*. The veterans who defended the walls, were soon overpowered by numbers; the untrained body of city-recruits fled at the

⁶⁷ Mém. de Bellay, 101. Guic. l. xviii. p. 445, &c. Oeuv. de Brant. iv. 257, &c.

fight of danger, and the enemy with irresistible violence rushed into the town. BOOK IV.
1527.

DURING the combat, Clement was employed at the altar of St. Peter's in offering up to Heaven unavailing prayers for victory. No sooner was he informed that his troops began to give way, than he fled with precipitation; and with an infatuation still more amazing than any thing already mentioned, instead of making his escape by the opposite gate where there was no enemy to oppose it, he shut himself up, together with thirteen cardinals, the foreign ambassadors, and many persons of distinction, in the castle of St. Angelo, which, from his late misfortune, he might have known to be an insecure retreat. In his way from the Vatican to that fortress, he saw his troops flying before an enemy who pursued without giving quarter; he heard the cries and lamentations of the Roman citizens, and beheld the beginning of those calamities which his own credulity and ill conduct had brought upon his subjects⁶⁸.

IT is impossible to describe, or even to imagine the misery and horror of that scene which followed. Whatever a city taken by storm can dread from military rage unrestrained by discipline; whatever excesses the ferocity of the Germans, the avarice of the Spaniards, or the

⁶⁸ Jov. Vit. Colon. 165.

BOOK IV. licentiousness of the Italians could commit;
 1527. these the wretched inhabitants were obliged to suffer. Churches, palaces, and the houses of private persons were plundered without distinction. No age, or character, or sex was exempt from injury. Cardinals, nobles, priests, matrons, virgins, were all the prey of soldiers, and at the mercy of men deaf to the voice of humanity. Nor did these outrages cease, as is usual in towns which are carried by assault, when the first fury of the storm was over; the Imperialists kept possession of Rome several months; and during all that time the insolence and brutality of the soldiers hardly abated. Their booty in ready money alone amounted to a million of ducats; what they raised by ransoms and exactions far exceeded that sum. Rome, though taken several different times by the northern nations, who over-ran the Empire in the fifth and sixth centuries, was never treated with so much cruelty by the barbarous and heathen Huns, Vandals, or Goths, as now by the bigotted subjects of a catholic Monarch⁶⁹.

The Pope
 besieged in
 the castle of
 St. Angelo.

AFTER Bourbon's death, the command of the Imperial army devolved on Philibert de

⁶⁹ Jov. Vit. Colon. 166. Guic. l. xviii. 440, &c. Comment. de capta urbe Roma ap. Scardium, ii. 230. Ulloa Vita di Carlo V. p. 110, &c. Gianone Hist. of Nap. B. xxxi. c. 3. p. 507.

Chalons prince of Orange, who with difficulty Book IV.
 prevailed on as many of his soldiers to desist 1527.
 from the pillage as were necessary to invest the
 castle of St. Angelo. Clement was immediately
 sensible of his error in having retired into that
 ill-provided and untenable fort. But as the
 Imperialists, scorning discipline, and intent only
 on plunder, pushed the siege with little vigour,
 he did not despair of holding out, until the Duke
 d'Urbino should come to his relief. That ge-
 neral advanced at the head of an army com-
 posed of Venetians, Florentines, and Swiss in
 the pay of France, of sufficient strength to
 have delivered Clement from the present danger.
 But d'Urbino, preferring the indulgence of his
 hatred against the family of Medici to the glory
 of delivering the capital of Christendom, and
 the head of the church, pronounced the enter-
 prize to be too hazardous; and, from an ex-
 quisite refinement in revenge, having marched
 forward so far, that his army being seen from
 the ramparts of St. Angelo, flattered the Pope
 with the prospect of certain relief, he imme-
 diately retired ⁷⁰. Clement, deprived of every Surrenders
 resource, and reduced to such extremity of fa- himself a
 mine as to feed on asses flesh ⁷¹, was obliged to prisoner.
 capitulate on such conditions as the conquerors June 6.
 were pleased to prescribe. He agreed to pay
 four hundred thousand ducats to the army; to

⁷⁰ Guic. l. xviii. 450. ⁷¹ Jov. Vit. Colon. 167.

BOOK IV. surrender to the Emperor all the places of
 1527. strength belonging to the church; and besides giving hostages, to remain a prisoner himself until the chief articles were performed. He was committed to the care of Alarcon, who, by his severe vigilance in guarding Francis, had given full proof of his being qualified for that office; and thus, by a singular accident, the same man had the custody of the two most illustrious personages who had been made prisoners in Europe during several ages.

The Emperor's behaviour at this juncture.

THE account of this extraordinary and unexpected event was no less surprising than agreeable to the Emperor. But in order to conceal his joy from his subjects, who were filled with horror at the success and crimes of their countrymen, and to lessen the indignation of the rest of Europe, he declared that Rome had been assaulted without any order from him. He wrote to all the princes with whom he was in alliance, disclaiming his having had any knowledge of Bourbon's intention⁷². He put himself and court into mourning; commanded the rejoicings which had been ordered for the birth of his son Philip to be stopped; and employing an artifice no less hypocritical than gross, he appointed prayers and processions throughout all Spain for the recovery of the Pope's liberty,

⁷² Ruscelli Lettere de' Principi, ii. 234.

which by an order to his generals he could have immediately granted him ⁷³. BOOK IV.
1527.

THE good fortune of the house of Austria was no less conspicuous in another part of Europe. Solyman having invaded Hungary with an army three hundred thousand strong, Lewis II. King of that country, and of Bohemia, a weak and unexperienced prince, advanced rashly to meet him with a body of men which did not amount to thirty thousand. With an imprudence still more unpardonable, he gave the command of these troops to Paul Tomorri, a Franciscan monk, archbishop of Golocza. This aukward general, in the dress of his order, girt with its cord, marched at the head of the troops; and hurried on by his own presumption, as well as by the impetuosity of nobles who despised danger, but were impatient of long service, he fought the fatal battle of Mohacz, in which the King, the flower of the Hungarian nobility, and upwards of twenty thousand men, fell the victims of his folly and ill conduct. Solyman, after his victory, seized and kept possession of several towns of greatest strength in the southern provinces of Hungary, and over-running the rest of the country, carried near two hundred thousand persons into captivity. As Lewis was the last male of the

Solyman invades Hungary.

Aug. 29.
1526.

Defeat of the Hungarians, and death of their King.

⁷³ Sleid. 109. Sandov. i. 822. Mauroc. Hist. Veneta, lib. iii. 220.

BOOK IV. royal family of Jagellon, the Archduke Ferdi-
 1527. nand claimed both his crowns. This claim was

founded on a double title; the one derived from the ancient pretensions of the house of Austria to both kingdoms; the other from the right of his wife, the only sister of the deceased Monarch. The feudal institutions however subsisted both in Hungary and Bohemia in such vigour, and the nobles possessed such extensive power, that the crowns were still elective, and Ferdinand's rights, if they had not been powerfully supported, would have met with little regard. But his own personal merit; the respect due to the brother of the greatest Monarch in Christendom; the necessity of chusing a prince able to afford his subjects some additional protection against the Turkish arms, which, as they had recently felt their power, they greatly dreaded; together with the intrigues of his sister, who had been married to the late King, overcame the prejudices which the Hungarians had conceived against the Archduke as a foreigner; and though a considerable party voted for the Vaywode of Transilvania, at length secured Ferdinand the throne of that kingdom. The states of Bohemia imitated the example of their neighbour kingdom; but in order to ascertain and secure their own privileges, they obliged Ferdinand, before his coronation, to subscribe a deed which they term a *Reverse*

Ferdinand
 elected
 King.

declaring that he held that crown not by any previous right, but by their gratuitous and voluntary election. By such a vast accession of territories, the hereditary possession of which they secured in process of time to their family, the princes of the house of Austria attained that pre-eminence in power which hath rendered them so formidable to the rest of Germany ⁷⁴.

THE dissensions between the Pope and Emperor proved extremely favourable to the progress of Lutheranism. Charles, exasperated by Clement's conduct, and fully employed in opposing the league which he had formed against them, had little inclination and less leisure to take any measures for suppressing the new opinions in Germany. In a diet of the Empire held at Spire, the state of religion came to be considered, and all that the Emperor required of the princes was, that they would wait patiently, and without encouraging innovations, for the meeting of a general council which he had demanded of the Pope. They, in return, acknowledged the convocation of a council to be the proper and regular step towards reforming abuses in the church; but contended, that a national council held in Germany would be more effectual for that purpose than what he had proposed. To his advice, concerning the discouragement of innovations, they paid so

Progress of
the Reformation.

June 25th
1526.

⁷⁴ Steph. Broderick Procancellarii Hungar. Clades in campo Mohacz ap. Scardium, ii. 218. P. Barre Hist. d'Allemagne, tom. viii. part i. p. 198.

BOOK IV. little regard, that even during the meeting of
 1527. the diet at Spires, the divines who attended the
 Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse-
 Cassel thither, preached publickly, and admi-
 nistered the sacraments according to the rites
 of the Reformed Church⁷⁵. The Emperor's own
 example emboldened the Germans to treat the
 papal authority with little reverence. During
 the heat of his resentment against Clement, he
 had published a long reply to an angry brieve
 which the Pope had intended as an apology for
 his own conduct. In this manifesto, the Em-
 peror, after having enumerated many instances
 of that Pontiff's ingratitude, deceit, and ambi-
 tion, all which he painted in the strongest and
 most aggravated colours, appealed from him to
 a general council. At the same time, he wrote
 to the college of Cardinals, complaining of
 Clement's partiality and injustice; and requir-
 ing them, if he refused or delayed to call a
 council, to manifest their concern for the peace
 of the Christian Church, so shamefully neglected
 by its chief pastor, by summoning that assembly
 in their own name⁷⁶. This manifesto, little
 inferior in virulence to the invectives of Luther
 himself, was dispersed over Germany with great
 industry, and being eagerly read by persons of
 every rank, did much more than counterbalance
 the effect of all Charles's declarations against
 the new opinions.

⁷⁵ Sleid. 103. ⁷⁶ Goldast. Polit. Imper. p. 984.

Robertson, William,

The History Of The Reign Of The Emperor Charles V With A View of the
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